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Public Narrative in Digital Canvassing:

Emerging Hybrid Strategies

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by

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ABSTRACT

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The rise of the internet has opened up new possibilities for how people communicate and interact with one another across social contexts. In the political arena, for example, studies have shown that new, digitally-enabled forms of organizing complement and may even transform traditional strategies and logics of mass mobilization efforts (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). This thesis focuses on digital canvassing. Canvassing is a practice that has historically been seen as one of the most effective organizational strategies for motivating and mobilizing individuals to participate in some form of collective action. Canvassing has traditionally entailed face-to-face contact and conversations between members of an organization and members of the public who previously have no relationship with one another. Today, however, a Google search of YouTube videos that feature canvassing results in thousands of entries. Clearly, canvassing has expanded into the digital environment. Digital technologies offer new opportunities for canvassing-style mass outreach through reaching a far wider audience, removing the face-to-face component in favor of digitally mediated communication, supplementing face-to-face outreach with the affordances of

digital media such as YouTube, and taking advantage of possibilities for viral sharing. Yet, little research has explored the results of this appropriation and how this popular mobilizing technique has been utilized and transformed in digital space.

To better understand canvassing in the digital environment, this thesis compares the traditional canvassing model of public narrative and its three components, stories of self, us and now, with the narrative components of digital canvassing. Moreover, the communicative elements relating to YouTube popularity are identified, including music, humor, types of characters, production quality, and style of production. A content analysis of 93 videos about canvassing, including recruitment, training, and motivation videos directed at canvassers, as well as outreach videos geared toward a public audience, indicates that the techniques available and used by traditional face-to-face canvassers—that is, public narrative, humor, and ordinary people—did not relate to video popularity. Factors that are unique to the digital realm, however, did contribute to popularity; these include music, production quality, and production style. The viral factors do not serve as mediators between public narrative and popularity.

The results of this study suggest that digital production factors, and not traditional narrative components, are driving popularity in canvassing videos. Public narrative does not contribute to online popularity, most likely because the primary benefit it affords in the face-to-face context, adaptability to the individual target audience, does not translate when applied digitally. However, it is possible that other forms of narrative, such as memes, may be effective in the digital realm. I present memes as a possible alternative form to public narrative. Future studies need to explore the impacts of various forms of narrative, as well as various emotional cues that can be conveyed therein, on audience responses.

Overall, the results of this study suggest that online organizing on platforms such as YouTube are an important avenue to maximize the impact of outreach and mobilization efforts of formal organizations and networked actors. However, the same strategies employed in traditional contexts do not seem to transfer to the digital world. This study provides a starting point for exploring what communicative strategies can be most effective for digital canvassing.

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I. Literature Review

The idea of canvassing as a persuasive form of face to face communication has generated great interest across corporate, political, civil, and academic contexts. Canvassing is typically conceived as face-to-face (in-person) conversation between or among at least two individuals (the canvasser and the target), typically with no prior relationship, initiated for the express purpose of achieving an organizational goal or goals which may include (but are not limited to) raising awareness, soliciting funds, inspiring political action, or persuading a change of opinion on social/political issues or organizational support. In 2014, the journal *Science* published findings from the dissertation of USC doctoral student Michael LaCour based on canvassing data. He found that fairly short (20 minute) face-to-face conversations about same-sex marriage with a gay or lesbian canvasser could cause "large, persistent, and contagious effects" on the opinions of individuals formerly opposed to gay marriage, including opinions about gays and lesbians more generally (LaCour, 2014, p. 1366). Furthermore, claimed LaCour, this type of canvassing "contact with minorities coupled with discussions of issues pertinent to them is capable of producing a cascade of opinion change" (2014, p. 1366). The results of this study appeared stunning.

Although canvassing has long been perceived as an effective persuasive technique, the results of LaCour's study were extraordinary. His findings lent empirical credence to the old fashioned idea that face-to-face organizing, and the personal stories of grassroots organizers, can lead to profound social change (Issenberg, 2014). "It rerouted countless researchers' agendas, inspired activists to change their approach to voter outreach, generated shifts in grant funding, and launched follow-up experiments" (Singal, 2015).

Unfortunately, the celebrated study by LaCour was subsequently uncovered as an academic fraud: in attempting to replicate LaCour's findings, graduate students in the political science departments at UC Berkeley and Yale University discovered that LaCour "took a preexisting dataset, pawned it off as his own, and faked the persuasion 'effects' of the canvassing" (Singal, 2015). The findings of this research team, led to a retraction the article at the request of LaCour's co-author and advisor, though without permission from LaCour himself. The news that the study had been fabricated sent shock waves through the activist and research communities, but the enthusiasm with which the results were originally met (e.g. Issenberg, 2014) rekindled a strong interest in the effects of canvassing and the persuasive power of narrative.

One of the most striking features of this renewed interest, however, is the continued research and corporate focus on traditional canvassing techniques with little attention paid to canvassing on social media platforms. Even within the canvassing industry, face-to-face canvassing dominates, and the huge growth in the canvassing industry relies primarily on face-to face efforts. Notable nonprofit organizations operating in-house canvasses include Greenpeace, the Public Interest Research Group (the canvassing branch of which is called the Fund for the Public Interest), the labor union AFL-CIO, and canvass-centric progressive group Canvass for a Cause. There are even now third-party organizations whose sole purpose is conducting face-to-face outreach/canvassing on behalf of nonprofits both in the United States and internationally, including Public Outreach, which operates throughout the U.S., Canada, and Australia (Public Outreach, 2015); Grassroots Campaigns, Inc., which is currently expanding operations from 16 to 30 cities in the United States (Grassroots Campaigns, 2015); Dialogue Direct, which has nine offices in the United States "with new

offices opening all the time" (Dialogue Direct, 2015); and Quantum Dialogue, an Australia-based firm with an unspecified number of offices both there and in the U.S. (Quantum Dialogue, 2015).

Political campaigns also continue to rely heavily on face-to-face canvassing as a mobilization tool both in the U.S. and abroad. Canvassing is highly popular among major political parties in the United Kingdom (Ward & Goodfellow, 2015), and in the United States run-up to the 2016 presidential elections, candidates from both parties used canvassing to mobilize support. Especially large face-to-face operations were run during the primaries by Democratic candidates Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders in early-decision states Iowa and New Hampshire (Wagner & Balz, 2015). This strategy is particularly important for non-"establishment" candidates like Sanders, who, it is argued, require widespread grassroots contact with voters in order to combat the established reputations of the opposition, achieve name recognition among the electorate, and raise money to counter the big-donor funded establishment campaigns (see, for example, Higgs, 2016).

The lack of research attention to on-line canvassing is particularly surprising given the overwhelming empirical evidence that digital technology enables new forms of organizing which favor decentralized networks, less emphasis on formal organizational structures, and less need for direct face-to-face interaction. Research suggests that "organizations are increasingly recognizing that they can embrace a variety of methods for member engagement in their goals" (Bimber, Flanagin & Stohl, 2012, p. 7) and by doing so "traditional organizations are enduring and innovating and are breaking scholars' rules" (Bimber et al., 2012, p. 10).

The purpose of this study is to explore the dynamics of canvassing within the emerging digital environment. This study focuses specifically on one type of popular canvassing method, the *public narrative*, and seeks to understand whether the particular techniques and effects associated with this well-known process when used online are similar to what is found in the off-line environment. In order to do so, this chapter proceeds as follows: First, the public narrative is presented as a form of canvassing that has been used widely and effectively for decades. Second, the challenges faced by this traditional form and the possibilities of new digital media are discussed. Third, the rise of digital media is explored in the context of the broader shift from traditional forms of collective action to digitally networked connective action, including the role of formal organizations and how the components of public narrative may fit with connective action logics. Fourth, the opportunities for combining traditional and digital tools are explored through a discussion of hybrid organizing. Finally, elements of digital media which are demonstrated to contribute to online popularity are discussed as potential contributing factors to popularity in online organizing.

A. Public Narratives as a Tactic in Political Canvassing

Canvassing as an organizing process embodies a variety of motives and uses a variety of tactics to maximize the engagement of the canvassing target. For example, unlike sales canvassing in which the goal is to make a profit, the goal of political canvassing is ideologically and emotionally rooted, and may not pose a concrete benefit to the canvass target. Canvassing goals may include raising awareness about a particular issue, advocating for a particular solution to the issue, persuading and /or changing attitudes, registering and/or mobilizing voters or volunteers, and/or fundraising. Canvassers may have only one or many

goals during an interaction, and may utilize many different persuasive devices including appeals to logic, social responsibility, a sense of community or "bandwagon" effect, and a variety of emotional appeals. One common way to make sense of these multiple goals and convey a persuasive, emotional message to a canvassing target is through the use of stories, or *narrative.* This method allows the target to be written into a shared narrative, to organize a set of information with the target themselves as an important actor.

One narrative-oriented strategy developed to maximize the impact of face-to-face canvassing interactions is the particular structure of *public narrative*. Though the fundamental elements of this strategy can anecdotally be traced back decades by veteran organizers, it has been formalized in recent academic and industry publications by Marshall Ganz, a longtime practitioner of the method (see Ganz, 2008; Ganz, 2009; Ganz, nd). Ganz, a rabbi's son, began his career as a civil rights activist in Mississippi, then a key organizer for the United Farm Workers boycotts, going on to teach organizing and leadership at Harvard's Kennedy School for Government. In 2008, it was Ganz to whom the Obama campaign turned for organizing advice, and Ganz who trained hundreds of Obama organizers in the public narrative strategy (Martelle, 2008).

The public narrative strategy serves as a method to convey ideology, persuade the audience, and spur action. Ganz draws from Rabbi Hillel, first-century sage and foundational scholar of Jewish liturgy, who asked: "If I am not for myself, who will be for me? If I am for myself alone, what am I? If not now, when?" (Ganz, 2008; Ganz, 2009). This teaching articulates what Ganz identifies as "the relationship of self, other, and action… at the core of our moral traditions" (Ganz, 2008, p. 1) and from whence he derives the three elements of public narrative. These elements include the *story of self*, consisting of personal values,

personal experience, and personal action, and often involving an embedded frame of family and childhood, life choices, or issue/organizing experience; the *story of us*, consisting of shared values, shared experience, and shared action, designed to articulate "why we do what we do" (Ganz, 2008, p. 1); and the *story of now*, consisting of a particular challenge, a reason for hope, and a choice to be made. Taken as a whole, the public narrative structure is designed to recruit organizational supporters and compel those supporters to action.

Ganz's model has been adopted and adapted by numerous organizations including electoral campaigns and nonprofits. Countless down-ticket electoral strategists followed the Obama campaign in adopting public narrative, both in 2008 and more recent election cycles, as did the Bernie Sanders campaign in 2016. As for nonprofits, a cursory Web search reveals organizing strategies drawing on Ganz from diverse organizations including the Blue Dot Movement, a Canadian environmental group; 350.org, a self-described "global climate movement"; Planned Parenthood, a reproductive health organization; the New Organizing Institute, the legacy organization of the late United States Representative Paul Wellstone; and MoveOn, a progressive catch-all organization. Planned Parenthood, in fact, devoted an entire track of its 2015 Safe Healthy Strong conference to storytelling as an organizing tool (Planned Parenthood, 2015), and several of these organizations have posted storytelling training manuals online for use by members and the public (350.org, 2015; the Blue Dot Movement, nd; MoveOn, 2015; New Organizing Institute, nd). These materials emphasize the power of storytelling, boasting, for example, that "stories have the power to convey learning, engage individuals, and compel action" (Blue Dot, nd).

This study seeks to explore whether the public narrative model traditionally associated with effective face-to-face canvassing can be found in digital canvassing videos

on YouTube, determine whether elements associated with video viralness are present in canvassing videos, and explore the degree to which viral elements mediate the effectiveness of the public narrative model in digital canvassing videos. The overall research question of this thesis is

> RQ: How is video popularity predicted by components of public narrative and organization type, and mediated by viral elements (music, humor, characters, and production quality)?

B. Challenges of Canvassing and Digital Affordances

Before the details of the study are explicated, it is important to understand what are the potential advantages and disadvantages associated with digital versus face-to face canvassing. Then, the particular platform of YouTube and its affordances for canvassing activities are discussed. The following section will examine digital media in a broader context of shifting logics relating to organizing and mass mobilization.

The challenges of face-to-face canvassing. Canvassing has flourished as an organizing tool due to its perceived effectiveness, yet canvassers and the organizations which employ them face profound challenges. For example, the nature of canvassing (specifically the mission-related imperative of conducting as many individual conversations as possible, with virtually no saturation point) is such that resources are limited, and financial resources may be particularly scarce in non-profit organizations. By design, canvassing requires people-power, and recruiting and maintaining a large number of canvassers is a practical challenge. Once recruited, people need to be trained, and though canvassers are typically given some training on how to approach individuals and what sorts of information to provide, this training is rarely thorough or comprehensive due to the constraints of time and resources.

Furthermore, with limited staff and a large population, canvasses are challenged to reach as many members of the public as possible, and these members of the public may exist in geographically dispersed areas. Given the constraints of proximity and time, it can be inefficient to bring canvassing crews together for training only to send teams back out to far-flung locales. Innovative new methods may be useful in streamlining the outreach process and assist canvassing organizations in their goals of reaching as many people as possible while maximizing scarce resources.

In addition to organizational challenges, the process of canvassing is arduous and targets are not necessarily receptive. The job of a canvasser, in blunt terms, is to interrupt the daily activities of her targets, conduct conversations often considered taboo such as prying into strangers' personal political beliefs, and then ask for money, often including sensitive credit card information. This is a challenging enough task to accomplish when targets are friendly and receptive, and is made significantly more difficult by the fact that the public is weary of being canvassed. In fact, one newspaper columnist in Canada provides suggestions for avoiding political canvassers (Flaherty, 2015), and though that column is filed as "humor," targets truly have been known to dash into the street or in other ways act recklessly just to avoid encountering a canvasser (Bielski, 2011). Additionally, credibility concerns associated with isolated incidents of rogue or dishonest canvassers have tainted public trust in canvassers more generally (see for example Thorne, 2015), and because canvassing is a resource-intensive method of fundraising, some well-meaning advocates of charitable giving advise against donating to organizations by way of canvassers and suggest that donors instead cut checks directly to the organization (Brown, 2015)—advice that, while perhaps well-intended, contradicts the desires of the actual organizations which canvass. As a result

of these challenges, canvassers are subject to a wide range of trials and indignities during the course of their work including high rates of rejection, rude comments, slammed doors, sexual harassment, and angry guard dogs, not to mention all-weather working conditions, and all in return for free or low-paid labor with little or no job security (Bielski, 2011; MacDonald, 2015; Ward & Goodfellow, 2015). These canvasser-level issues compound the organization-level temporal, financial, and logistical challenges at play.

Affordances of digital technologies. Recently practitioners have come to recognize that the affordances of new digital technologies may be able to address some of the challenges faced by canvassers and their organizations. One of the digital tools that may be used to address the challenges of canvassing is the popular online video hosting site YouTube, a vibrant media sharing platform that can be used creatively by organizations working to raise awareness and reach large swaths of the population. Launched in 2005, YouTube now connects over one billion users in 75 countries, and reports 300 hours of video uploaded every minute and hundreds of millions of total hours watched per day (YouTube, 2015). This free and highly accessible platform can be used by organizations to share material such as training videos, informational clips, and promotional material with a targeted audience, narrowing the distance between organizations and the public. The social networking element of YouTube is important as it "enables members to inform and enlist their personal networks in the organization's campaigns," as is commonly encouraged by contemporary organizations "seeking to exploit members' networks for communication and recruitment, and in doing so [shift] some of the impetus for organizing and activism to the members" (Bimber et al., 2012, p. 10).

YouTube offers several potential benefits to canvassing organizations. First, YouTube is resource-flexible: content is free to post and can generally be created on a personal computer at little to no cost (though an organization may choose to invest more, for example purchasing professional quality software, and participants may require compensation). Second, YouTube can serve as a platform for training programs, allowing the remote dissemination of information to canvassers and negating the imperative for regular co-location. While some training activities may still require in-person contact and the ability to provide and discuss feedback, using YouTube as a training platform for geographically dispersed canvassers in some contexts could help organizations use their canvassers' time more efficiently and reach areas not previously accessible due to travel constraints. Third, it is possible that YouTube could be used to raise awareness and conduct persuasion efforts to complement canvassers' in-person efforts. Canvassers will never be able to reach every single individual in their target area, but YouTube may help increase the number by serving as a tool for web-based outreach. Fourth, YouTube can be used as a promotional tool to combat negative public perceptions of canvassers and canvassing.

Though it offers strong potential for engagement, Waters and Jones (2011) argue that YouTube videos produced by nonprofit organizations are usually not crafted in a manner to meet organizational goals. They demonstrate that nonprofit YouTube videos are most commonly used for organizational identity purposes, specifically "to inform and educate viewers about their missions, programs, and services" (p. 259). As a result, they argue, "nonprofit organizations were not living up to their potential in terms of engagement" and to do so must "move their online audience to offline action by asking them to participate in specific activities" (Waters & Jones, 2011, p. 259). Canvassing is one such activity.

C. Digital Organizing and the Shift to Connective Action

Recent years have seen developments in the logics relating to mass mobilization due to the rapid proliferation of digital technologies, including social media like YouTube. These platforms represent a new mode of digitally enabled, networked action (DNA) that may have significant implications for canvassing. DNA challenges the position of formal organizations as loosely linked networks of individual actors acquire the communication tools and skills to organize entrepreneurially; formal organizations, meanwhile, are seeking new ways to adapt to and stay relevant in the digital age. In this section, hypotheses are developed based on what is known about the changing role of formal organizations, development of digital media, and the rise of networked actors.

Formal organizations have traditionally played a seemingly indispensable role in mass mobilization efforts. According to Bimber et al. (2012), "It is organizations that solve the problem of individuals free riding on the efforts of others. Organizations act on behalf of groups of people, embodying and representing their concerns, empowering them as collectivities, and organizing them" (p. 1). The traditional logic of collective action suggests that organizations are so crucial that "Success at collective action in the end is not so much a function of the complexity or individualism of people's choices, which are constrained by the unvarying logic of free riding, but a function of how well organizations perform at overcoming that logic" (Bimber et al, 2012, p. 1-2).

But the development of new technologies has resulted in new tools which enable mass mobilization by networks of people without any distinct organizational form. "The novel capacities created by technological innovation have altered the structures and forms of collective action efforts today toward the direction of enhanced individual agency," and

offered new solutions to collective goals such as “locating a critical mass of people with shared interests, providing opportunities for meaningful forms of distributed contribution, and coordinating people’s actions efficiently” (Bimber et al., 2012, p. 2-3). Interest has shifted to the accomplishments of online and “organization-less organizing” (Bimber et al., 2012, p. 4).

Collective and connective action logics. The result of these new technologies is digitally networked action, embodying connective action logics. Bennett and Segerberg (2012) discuss the patterns characterizing DNA and distinguish this form from traditional modes. First, there has been a shift away from “branding the actions in terms of particular organizations, memberships, or conventional collective action frames” and towards, instead, the use of *personal action frames*; and second, the rise of “technology platforms and applications taking the role of established political organizations” (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 742). The nature of YouTube videos—their digital form as well as location within a social media platform—indicates that these videos about canvassing are likely to diverge from the traditional canvassing model and embody some of the changes discussed by Bennett and Segerberg.

Personal action frames, characteristic of connective action, are consistent with the “story of self” component of public narrative. Personal action frames “are inclusive of different personal reasons for contesting a situation that needs to be changed” (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 744). While Ganz’s "story of us" identifies commonalities among members of an organization, the "story of self" affords room for many loosely linked motivations, goals, and decisions to take action. Ganz encourages those working to develop a cogent story of self to "describe the milestones and experiences that have brought you to this

moment. Go back as far as you can remember" (Ganz, nd., p. 2). Stories of self are personal, even intimate: Ganz suggests parents, childhood, personal challenges, and values as rich areas to explore, noting that "some of the moments you recall may be painful as well as hopeful... It is the combination of 'criticality' and 'hopefulness' that creates the energy for change" (Ganz, nd., p. 3). These deeply personal stories of self are meant to be shared as a component of public narrative. In canvassing videos, they are shared via digital networks. Thus, stories of self, divorced from the other components of public narrative, strongly resemble the personalized accounts identified by Bennett and Segerberg (2012) as characterizing new modes of organizing, and when shared through social media, fit also the second, digitally-networked qualification of DNA.

Conventional collective action framing, on the other hand, "centers on the process of negotiating common interpretations of collective identity linked to the contentious issues at hand" (Bennet & Segerberg, 2013, p. 33), as Waters and Jones (2011) argue is the typical use of nonprofit YouTube videos. These conventional collective action frames are consistent with the public narrative “story of us.” According to Ganz, the goal is "to define an 'us' upon whom you will call to join you in action motivated by shared values, values you bring alive through story telling" (nd., p. 3). Ganz explains that "Most 'us's' that have been around for a while have stories about their founding, the challenges faced by the founders, how they overcame them, who joined with them, and what this teaches us about the values of the organization" (Ganz, nd., p. 4). These stories represent the common interpretations of collective identity noted above from which digitally-enabled organizing has diverged.

While the *story of self* is personal and more easily adaptable by entrepreneurs, fitting into Bennet & Segerberg’s concept of a *personal action frame,* and the *story of us* relates to

directly collective identity and is designed to spur organizational identification and support, the third narrative component, the *story of now,* relates to urgency and direct calls to action. This final component is described by Ganz as "the challenge this community now faces, the choices it must make, and the hope to which 'we' can aspire" (Ganz, nd, p. 2). This narrative component presents a *collective* challenge: though each individual actor must make the personal choice of whether to take action, the decision to do so involves joining with a collective and associating oneself with this group identity. "In contrast to personal action frames, other calls to action," such as those presented by the story of now, "more clearly require joining with established groups or ideologies" (Bennet & Segerberg, 2012, p. 746). As Waters and Jones demonstrated, these calls to action are as yet underused by nonprofit organizations on YouTube.

Based on this literature, it is expected that digitally enabled, networked organizing has shifted away from conventional collective action frames (stories of us and now) and toward personalized accounts (story of self).

> H1: The story of self (S) is more likely to occur across YouTube canvassing videos than story of us (U) or story of now (N) or any dyadic (SU, SN, UN) or complete (SUN) combination.

D. Hybrid Organizing

Though organizing logics have shifted toward connective, networked action, traditional logics of collective action and associated traditional strategies (such as face-to-face canvassing) persist. Those who organize, both formally and entrepreneurially, are finding a great deal of promise in the idea of hybridization: combining new strategies and logics with traditional ones. Through hybrid organizing, the advantages held by experienced,

formal organizations can be combined with the innovative affordances of digitally networked action. This section explores the idea of hybrid organizing, including the role of formal organizations, and discusses ways in which hybrid organizing can be enacted. Based on this information, hypotheses are developed for how the hybrid form of digital canvassing videos combine traditional public narrative with digitally networked action.

Digitally networked action (DNA) and related connective logics have altered the organizing game and given rise to new tools and outlets for action, but traditional logics and organizational forms persist. As Bimber et al. (2012) note, "It is not the case that formal organizations are being replaced by self-organized groups enabled by digital media. Activist networks and informal groups supplement formal organizations, enriching and adding complexity to the organizational forms rather than substituting the new for the old" (p. 6).

Arguably, "new" modes of organizing are actually combinations of pre-existing forms, not truly new ones. Chadwick (2005) uses the term "hybridity" to describe this phenomenon, and argues that "the Internet, by creating an environment in which institutional adaptation and experimentation is almost routine, encourages 'organizational hybridity'" (p. 2). The hybrid organizational outcome can present in two ways: "First, established parties and interest groups are increasingly borrowing and adapting repertoires of mobilization previously considered to be typical of new social movements. Second, we are seeing the emergence of 'purely' hybrid organizations for which the Internet is central" (Chadwick, 2005, p. 2).

Hybrid organizing among formal organizations. Digital tools, then, are not for the sole use of entrepreneurs: formal organizations can use and benefit from them as well. Organizations of all types and structures have been impacted by the rise of DNA, though

some may adapt more quickly and in different ways. For example, social movement organizations, and particularly the anti-globalization movement, "in many respects pioneered using the internet for mobilization and coordination during the mid-1990s," (Chadwick, 2007, p. 286), becoming quite adept at the new forms and coming to take for granted new, nonhierarchical approaches (Chadwick, 2007). Electoral and nonprofit organizations have been relatively quick to adopt hybrid logics, and even traditionally rooted organizations are now undergoing a shift. "Increasingly, there are signs that traditionally more hierarchical, less 'innovative' organizations—interest groups and political parties—are beginning to adopt (and adapt) these digital network repertoires" (Chadwick, 2007, p. 286).

Hybrid organizing in electoral politics was arguably pioneered by Howard Dean in 2004, though it was a rocky and ironic start. Harnessing the internet for fundraising and mobilization like no one before him, Dean went from last-place to frontrunner over the course of the primary run-up, and helped indelibly alter the role of the internet in U.S. elections. Beyond fundraising, Dean's campaign networked with other political organizations to increase its scope, used Meetup.com to organize in-person meetings of geographically collocated supporters, and allowed loose networks of supporters to conduct their own organizing efforts. Dean's campaign ultimately ended in part due to a viral video of Dean's ill-timed vocalization into a poorly-calibrated microphone, demonstrating the powerful destructive side of digital media and the irony of digital organizing: that which creates can also destroy. Still, Dean's tactics were taken up by Democratic nominee John Kerry later that year, and helped set the stage for the massive web-based mobilizations staged in subsequent election cycles (Chadwick, 2007).

Recently, hybridization can be seen clearly in the 2016 Bernie Sanders campaign and the networked actions of tech-savvy Sanders supporters. The Sanders campaign, like many electoral organizations, relied heavily on volunteer canvassing to garner support especially in the early-voting states of Iowa and New Hampshire, employing the traditional strategies of providing volunteers with walk packets (neighborhood maps and supporter checklists), training, and often transportation. Supporters of the campaign, however, shifted this dynamic by developing a new canvassing app which gives them the ability to canvass door-to-door without support from the formal campaign infrastructure (Frizell, 2016). This innovation in canvassing strategy was spearheaded by entrepreneurial groups of Sanders supporters such as *Coders for Sanders*, *Code Corps* and *FeelTheBern.org*. Rather than relying on the campaign itself to provide canvassing resources, these volunteers rely on their own networks to engage in connective action. This "reflects the spontaneous and loose organization of Sanders' campaign, where activists' idealism has more to do with making a movement than winning" (Frizell, 2016, np).

Alongside electoral campaigns, nonprofit organizations too are hybridizing. MoveOn represents arguably the first "true" hybrid organization, having been born on the web in 1999 and never in its history held physical office space (Chadwick, 2007). Avaaz, an international advocacy organization co-founded by MoveOn and based on the MoveOn model, has taken hybrid organizing to the international arena, using various social media platforms for "identity-building, bonding, and engagement" with its members (Kavada, 2012, p. 52). Even traditional, established organizations are developing hybrid repertoires, "experiencing internet-fueled increases in grassroots influence in ways that social movements now take for granted as part of their nonhierarchical, 'medium is the message' approach" (Chadwick,

2007, p. 286). Traditional nonprofit organizations such as Greenpeace and Peace Action that began in the pre-digital age have adopted hybrid logics and are taking advantage of the affordances of digital technology.

Organizational engagement and public narrative. Bimber et al. (2012) argue that how people interact and engage with an organization is far more important to understanding collective action than the particular organization(s) to which they belong. "We will interpret this to mean that scholars should be more interested in understanding interaction and engagement within collective action organizations than with classifying them and scrutinizing their objective structure" (Bimber, Flanagin, & Stohl, 2012, p. 26). Public narrative structure is one mode of engagement, and though the mode of engagement may be more important than the organizational form itself, it remains to be seen which types of organizations are employing this strategy in the digital context. It is possible that organization types are in fact engaging differently. The first research question addresses this by asking,

> RQ1A: What is the relationship between public narrative components and organization type?

Due to the development and propagation of public narrative in electoral organizing, it is hypothesized:

> H2: Public narrative will be more likely to appear in videos affiliated with electoral organizations than any other type of organization.

YouTube canvassing videos represent hybridity through their combination of traditional face-to-face organizing and use of a new digital platform. As both new *and* traditional logics are exercised in YouTube canvassing videos, there is likely variation in the

balance of collective versus connective logics, and thus in the degree to which the traditional model of public narrative is employed in the videos. Furthermore, YouTube videos may be either formally produced by an organization or entrepreneurially produced by supporters affiliated with the organization. *Formal* organizing refers to collective action organizing led by a formal or established organization (resulting in formally produced videos). Formal videos are produced using the organization's brand and resources and with a greater focus on organizational strategy. *Entrepreneurial* videos are produced by organizational supporters or affiliates without the organization's official brand or support. Formal or entrepreneurial production may impact the degree to which the traditional strategy of public narrative is employed. Research question 1B address this issue:

> RQ1B: What is the relationship between public narrative components and production style?

Established, formal organizations are rooted best practices and the use of traditional organizing logics. Formal organizations have made us of traditional organizing logics in the past, and likely have a more comprehensive understanding of the usefulness of such logics as public narrative; thus, it is a smooth and logical transition to employ such a familiar and already-tested logic in the new digital setting. While the rise of the digital age has led to *some* shifts in organizing within formal organizations, such as new methods of reaching out to and mobilizing supporters through web-based technologies, the substance of this type of organizing remains relatively stable. For example, Karpf (2010) notes that "for groups like the Sierra Club, the logic of collective action remains very much intact" (p. 15). The primary purpose of these organizations is, as it has been, to identify as many supporters of a given

cause as possible, and mobilize those supporters to action for a common goal, typically financial donations or some form of collective action. Thus,

> H3: The complete public narrative (SUN) is more likely to occur in videos which are formally produced by organizations than in videos which are produced entrepreneurially by networked supporters.

Relating to formal and entrepreneurial production styles, hybridity may present in different ways. An established organization may incorporate digital tools into its strategy to accompany traditional repertoires, or may work alongside networked actors taking advantage of digital tools. It is possible that this varies by organization type, and we can learn about how from examining whether videos associated with an organization type are formally produced, indicating the organization itself is utilizing digital tools, or entrepreneurially produced, indicating actions taken by networked organizers working alongside the formal organization.

> RQ1C: What is the relationship between organization type and production style?

Digital Media as an Organizing Tool: Harnessing Viral Elements

Though digital technologies provide new ways to address the challenges posed by traditional face-to-face canvassing, the digital realm presents challenges of its own: specifically, the challenge of achieving digital popularity. When using digital media as an organizing tool for mass mobilization, in which reaching the widest audience possible is a built-in goal, a consideration of contributing factors to digital popularity is imperative. This section addresses the role of these factors.

Research examining factors impacting the popularity of online content has focused on four major areas: source, message, audience, and socialness (the latter meaning the extent to which content is shared and viewed through networks). These variables have been associated with viralness, referring to content that has gone "viral," or spread rapidly and widely through networked sharing. Contributing factors to viralness may be applied as popularity factors even in non-viral content, with elements common in viral videos representing likely contributors to popularity in the broader context of digital media. The present study focuses specifically on message characteristics associated with video popularity, as these are most apt to complement the message characteristics associated with the public narrative form. These include the use of music, humor, types of characters, and production quality.

Music. Research has identified a relationship between the use of music and higher popularity in YouTube videos (Burgess, 2008; Brooks, 2015). Music is not typically used in traditional face-to-face canvassing, though on occasion canvassing crews with access to portable speakers will play rousing, upbeat music during street canvassing to encourage stops and energize their targets and themselves.

Music poses some important benefits in the realm of digital organizing. To begin with, music is a staple of digital media, and YouTube as a platform is widely known for its hosting of music-oriented audiovisual content. Additionally, music is a virtually universal phenomenon, and recent research indicates that musical expressions of emotion are shared and recognized across cultures (Fritz et al., 2009), affording a bridge between social and cultural groups brought together by canvassing.

The importance of music has long been recognized by commercial advertisers, and though canvassing and mass mobilization are focused on ideology and social change rather

than material sales, they share common elements such as the need to engage the target and arouse interest and motivation. In advertising, music has been used for decades to "enrich the key message" of advertisements and act "as a potential peripheral cue used to arouse the consumer's emotional state" (Morris & Boone, 1998, p. 518). There may be commonalities between these sales logics and how music can be used in digital mass mobilization efforts.

Humor. Humor has been advocated as an organizing tool at least since the time of Saul Alinsky (see Alinsky, 1971), the founder of modern community organizing, and has been repeatedly identified in the literature as a significant contributor to video popularity (English, et al., 2011; Guadagno, 2013; Hollander, 2005; Purcell, 2010; Shifman, 2011). Humor is commonly used in traditional face-to-face canvassing, particularly as a method of "getting in the door," or starting a conversation, with a target. Like canvassers, YouTube videos must "get in the door" and engage the viewer in order to convey a message. Due to its dual legacy in organizing and digital media, humor is expected to play an important role in digital organizing.

Knobel and Lankshear (2007) found that there were two types of humor commonly used in viral videos, *quirky and situational* humor, and *biting social commentary*. Quirky and situational humor encompasses silliness, incongruity, and light interpersonal humor, while biting social commentary is the use of humor to address a political or social issue (Knobel & Lankshear, 2007). Shifman (2011) adapted this index, finding that biting social commentary did not appear at all in her sample of viral videos, and breaking down *quirky and situational* humor into three sub types: playfulness, incongruity, and superiority. *Playfulness* involves the overt use of humor involving "a multi-layered perception of social situations" (Shifman, 2011, p. 195-6). *Incongruity* is the result of the meeting of incongruous elements, such as a

pun, a person wearing the clothing of the opposite gender, or the personification of inanimate objects. *Superiority* involves people or things which are "unintentionally, or at least not clearly intentionally, funny," resulting in a sense of superiority in the viewer (Shifman, 2011, p. 196).

A great many protest campaigns employ humor of both the quirky-situational and biting social commentary variants to increase visibility and impact. For example, "Billionaires for Bush (and Gore)" involved activists dressing up as billionaires and chanting slogans such as "four more wars" and "no billionaire left behind" to comedically raise awareness of the influence of ultra-rich power players over both major U.S. political parties during the 2000 election (Canning & Reinsborough, 2008). In Britain, activists created the Four Horsemen of the Economic Apocalypse to humorously apply a common religious trope to the financial crisis of the late 2000s. Protesters and activists marched behind the four horseman from the gates of old London to the Bank of England.

Characters. Another trend in viral video was identified by Shifman (2011) and involves a focus on "ordinary people": average, everyday members of society, in many cases the video producers themselves. In the present study, ordinary people, or canvassers and grassroots organizational members, are contrasted with elites, or organizational leaders. In addition to serving as the key players in traditional face-to-face canvassing, ordinary people are at the heart of the public narrative components of stories of self and us, designed to be told by ordinary people to ordinary people. This appeal is the crux of grassroots organizing. The producers of entrepreneurial videos are themselves likely to be ordinary people, and may use their entrepreneurially produced videos to convey their own stories of self. The direct

organizational support and resources associated with formal videos, on the other hand, is likely linked to greater access to elites, who may be featured in the videos.

Production quality. Many researchers argue that the quality of a video's production has an impact on the popularity achieved by that video, though researchers are split on where the advantage lies. Some researchers argue that amateurism is a benefit to video popularity, such as Burgess (2008) who identifies "earnest amateurism" as a contributing factor to video viralness. Juhasz (2009) agrees about the effectiveness of amateurism but with less reverence, arguing that "'Bad' videos are made by regular people, using low-end technology, paying little attention to form or aesthetics while attending to the daily life, feelings, and thoughts of the individual. Bad form marks the hand of an amateur and the space for the mundane while propelling a video's movement around the Internet, for this is also the mark of its veracity and authenticity" (Juhasz, 2009, p. 148).

Others, however, argue that it is *professional* production quality which contributes to popularity. For example, as part of its strategic communication toolkit, The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) recommends maximizing production quality of YouTube videos. The CDC itself has benefited from this edict as demonstrated by its own effective use of YouTube as a tactic (Walton, Seitz, & Ragsdale, 2012).

The field is further split by Liu-Thompkins & Rogerson (2012), who conducted a study of diffusion of user-generated content on YouTube and found that production quality did *not* impact diffusion. It may be that amateurism does spur *viralness* among YouTube videos, but for videos seeking to achieve a moderate popularity among a particular group of interested individuals, professionalism is preferable. It may also be that the production

quality itself is not the key factor here, but rather the authenticity and earnestness of the video creator, for which amateurism serves as a heuristic.

Viral elements and narrative. The viral elements of music, humor, characters, and production quality may be used to enhance the presentation of narrative components, yet organizations may employ these viral elements differently. For example, some may favor the CDC's recommendation to maximize production quality, while others might prefer amateurism. The second set of research questions explores these relationships:

> RQ2: What are the relationships among narrative components, organization type, and viral elements?

The question is broken down into two parts,

> RQ2A: What is the relationship between organization type and viral elements?
>
> RQ2B: What is the relationship between narrative components and viral elements?

E. Public Narrative, Viral Elements, and Video Popularity

The previous sections have introduced and discussed the traditional public narrative strategy as a framework for success in face-to-face organizing; challenges faced in traditional organizing and the affordances of digital media for meeting these challenges; the rise of digitally networked action, changing role of formal organizations and related shift in organizing logics from collective to connective, as well as the hybridization of these forms; and the various elements which contribute to the popularity of digital media. This section will discuss these concepts in terms of predicting popularity in digital canvassing videos, and develop hypotheses relating to popularity outcomes.

The effectiveness of YouTube videos is measured in terms of video popularity, which can be operationalized variously as number of views, ratings, comments, and shares. The simplest and most common measure of popularity is *views*, the number of times a video is streamed by viewers. Given that in traditional face-to-face organizing, public narrative components can be used to increase the success of a canvassing effort, and the popularity of YouTube videos has been associated with a number of viral elements, it is expected that public narrative and viral elements will both contribute to popularity among YouTube canvassing videos. A goal of this study is to understand the relationship between public narrative components, viral elements, and video popularity among these videos. Reviewing the literature leads to a third set of research questions and one hypothesis.

> RQ3: What are the relationships between popularity on the one hand and narrative components, organization type, and production style on the other hand; do viral elements mediate these relationships?

Though the public narrative model has been so effective in face-to-face organizing, it is yet to be seen whether this traditional logic translates into popularity in the digital context.

> RQ3A: What is the relationship between popularity and narrative components?

Because Ganz argues that the public narrative is most effective when all three components (stories of self, us, and now) are used in combination, it is hypothesized,

> H4: Popularity will be positively associated with the use of complete narrative compared to individual components (S, U, or N) or dyadic combinations (SU, SN, or UN).

Although the literature indicates that organizations' modes of interaction with supporters are more important than the particular organizational structure (see Bimber et al, 2012), it is also apparent that some organization types are adapting to the digital realm more quickly than others. Thus it is unclear whether some types of organizations are using digital tools to greater effect than others.

RQ3B: What is the relationship between popularity and organization type?

Furthermore, even within organization types entrepreneurs may be using new digital tools with as much (or greater) skill as are formal organizations. We know that entrepreneurs have harnessed the internet to enable connective, networked action. The extent to which they are succeeding compared to formal organizations is explored through the question,

RQ3C: What is the relationship between popularity and production style?

Public narrative as an organizing strategy was developed by established organizations as a traditional organizing tool, and may be used differently by organization types to serve various purposes. Additionally, narrative components may be used differently by entrepreneurial versus formal producers.

RQ3D: What are the interactions among narrative components, organization type, and production style?

As YouTube canvassing videos are presented and viewed on a digital platform, it is expected that digital logics will play a role in contributing to popularity. The viral elements of music, humor, character types, and production quality have been linked to high levels of popularity among YouTube videos more broadly. Here, viral elements may be used to spur the popularity of canvassing videos specifically. We ask,

RQ3E: What is the relationship between popularity and viral elements?

Based on past literature it is hypothesized that the viral elements of music, humor, and characters will each contribute to greater popularity among videos in the sample; due to conflicting findings in previous studies, the hypothesis regarding production quality is presented as non-directional.

H5: Popularity will be positively associated with the use of music.

H6: Popularity will be positively associated with the use of humor.

H7: Popularity will be positively associated with the portrayal of ordinary people as characters.

H8: Popularity will be associated with production quality.

YouTube canvassing videos represent a meeting point of logics relating to traditional and digital organizing, and so too represent a meeting point of characteristics indicating effectiveness in traditional and digital realms. The final research question and hypothesis explore this convergence by seeking to understand the relationship between the traditional and digital, and predicting that in this realm, digital logics mediate the relationship between traditional logics and outcome.

RQ3F: Do viral elements mediate the relationship between narrative completeness, organization type, and production style on one hand and popularity on the other?

H9: The relationship between popularity and narrative completeness and organization type, and production style will be mediated by viral elements.

Chapter II. Methods

In chapter one, three research questions (with eleven parts) and nine hypotheses were developed to address the relationship between digital canvassing videos and the traditional public narrative form associated with effective face-to-face canvassing. The review of literature identified nine salient variables in addition to two temporal measures and the canvassing focus variable used to identify the sample, for a total of twelve variables. Dependent variables for the content analyses were of two types. Manifest variables, easily identified in the video and the accompanying text and included use of music, types of characters, country of origin, and the temporal measures of video length and video lifespan. Latent variables, that is, interpretive variables based on the content and focus of the narrative, included canvassing focus, public narrative components, issue type, production style, humor, and production quality. The independent variable was popularity.

The following section describes the sample and coding procedures used in the study. Following that, the conceptual and operational definitions of each dependent and independent variable are presented.

A. Sample

Canvassing focus. To be included in the sample, a You Tube video must include at least one type of focus on canvassing. This could include *the act of canvassing*, portraying face-to-face organizing; *the importance of canvassing*, discussing the impact of this organizing method; *the definition of canvassing*, or explaining what the term "canvassing" means; *skills relating to canvassin*g, explicating specific tools and tricks to use in face-to-face organizing; *solicitation to canvass*, a specific call-to-action for the viewer to participate in canvassing; or "*other*" canvasing focus.

The sample is comprised of YouTube videos that were identified under the search term "canvass" and its derivatives (e.g. "canvasser," "canvassing," "canvassed"), focused on at least one aspect of values-based persuasion canvassing, uploaded between 1/1/2012 and 2/12/2016, used English only, and were produced by or in affiliation with an organization. Produced by or in affiliation with an organization means that a video may be produced and uploaded to YouTube either by a formal organization (for example, Colorado for Bernie Sanders) or by an individual who is associated in any way with an organized effort, such as in the role of canvasser, networked supporter, or canvass target (for example, Mackenzie Rough, uploader of a video about the Labour Party whose "about" section identifies the accountholder as a London-based film producer). The timeframe was chosen in order to include the 2012 United States presidential election season as well as the 2016 Iowa caucus and New Hampshire primary, key events in the 2016 presidential race. A total of 97 videos were returned matching these criteria. Two were removed as duplicates, and two were removed as extreme outliers for reasons discussed below, resulting in a final count of 93 videos. All videos were downloaded and saved using a program which converts YouTube videos to mp4 files in order to preserve the sample in case of removal from YouTube.

B. Coding Procedures

Manifest variables were coded by undergraduate research assistants trained by the researcher. These variables included popularity measures, temporal measures, types of characters, and use of music. Training videos similar to those in the study were found by extending the YouTube search to 2010 and 2011, a time period not included in the sample. The first step of training involved a detailed explanation of the variables and categories as presented in the codebook, and the researcher answering any questions posed by the initial 5

research assistants (RAs). RAs watched and coded an example video drawn from outside of the sample. RAs' codes were compared to the researcher's, and when discrepancies arose among the coders, more discussion and clarification followed. Three more practice video sessions followed. In all cases discrepancies were discussed until there was agreement among the coders. Initially five RAs were used, but satisfactory intercoder reliability ratings were not achieved. Two RA's were responsible for a majority of the discrepancies and hence were removed from doing any further coding.

After further training, reliability, among the three remaining coders was assessed using Fleiss's kappa, which is appropriate for evaluating multiple raters, rather than Cohen's kappa which is appropriate for only two raters. Reliability among the remaining three RAs was .747. Each RA then independently coded her subset of the sample. Each RA was responsible for coding manifest variables for approximately nineteen videos. The researcher coded latent variables for all videos, including narrative components, organization type, issue type, production style, humor, and canvass focus. To avoid coders confounding the variables, each variable was coded sequentially, meaning that each video was viewed multiple times (at least one viewing for each variable coded). For example, each video was first coded for music independently of any other variables; then viewed again and coded for types of characters; and so on until all categories were coded.

C. Operationalizations of Measures

The measures used in the coding include public narrative components; issue type; organization type; formal or entrepreneurial production; viral video characteristics including humor, music, types of people characterized, and production quality; popularity measures;

temporal measures including length and lifetime of video; and canvass focus, used to determine inclusion in the sample.

Narrative components. The public narrative model includes three components, each of which is comprised of three sub-components: the story of self (S), focusing on the personal values, experiences, and actions of an organizational actor; the story of us (U), focusing on the collective values, experiences, and actions of the organizational membership or group more broadly; and the story of now (N), including a challenge to be met, hope that the challenge may be overcome, and a choice for what action to take in order to do so (Ganz, nd). Each video was analyzed for the sub-components of each public narrative component; when all sub-components of a particular component were present, the video was coded as demonstrating the narrative component: e.g. when personal values, personal experience, and personal action were all explicated, story of self was coded as present.

For example, the video "Canvassing with Yes Equality" posted by Yes Equality (video #2) exemplifies the story of self. The protagonist, a rugged, conventionally handsome Irishman, speaks directly to the camera: "My name is Mark, and I support marriage equality. But I got tired of sitting at home and listening to the debate—being a spectator. I wanted to get involved… to help move us forward as a nation… It was so easy to join up [canvassing]." This illustrates the personal values (supporting marriage equality), personal experience (the sense of sitting on the sidelines and wanting to be involved), and personal action (joining a canvass) that comprise the story of self.

Story of us is clearly demonstrated in the video "Occupy Our Homes MLK Day Canvassing Chicago," uploaded by LorenWorldwide (video #35). The right to housing is explicitly mentioned by several people in the video, and a group of canvassers chants

together, “We are the people! We got a story! Tell the whole wide world it’s the people’s territory!” demonstrating shared values. Shared experience and action are simultaneously conveyed through one organizer’s statement, “This is the second year that the coalition of groups in Chicago that work on housing rights issues went out on Martin Luther King Day to canvass the neighborhoods speaking directly to homeowners facing foreclosure… a lot of families that are going through foreclosure are dealing not only with recession but their own type of depression.” Shared action is further illustrated by another organizer saying, “If it takes us putting bodies in front of somebody who’s about to be evicted by the sheriff, that’s how we’re going to begin the process of doing eviction blockades and defending the right to housing.”

Story of now is conveyed by two canvassers to a canvass target, who films the interaction on her phone, in the video “Freedom Chronicles (Day 78): Bilal Goes Canvassing” posted by Planting Justice (video #92). First, they present the challenge: “California has the highest recidivism rate in the whole country,” and explain that “recidivism is when guys get out [of prison], then go back, get out, then go back. So we’re trying to stop that.” They go on to convey a sense of hope, explaining that Planting Justice employs former inmates, providing steady jobs contributing to their communities in order to reduce recidivism. As part of that job, they canvass, and also “we educate kids on eating healthy, knowing about vegetables… everybody needs to have access to healthy vegetables.” Finally, they present the target with a choice of whether to support their cause: “The best way to support Planting Justice is to become a Seed of Solidarity… It’s as simple as just becoming a monthly contributor to this organization, to what we do.”

The three components may appear individually (as S, U, or N); dyadically as story of self and story of us (SU), story of self and story of now (SN), or story of us and story of now (UN); or in complete public narrative form (SUN). The "public narrative" model itself will only be considered present when all three components are co-present in a video (SUN). This results in an eight-category cross-classification of public narrative components: story of self alone (S), story of us alone (U), story of now alone (N), stories of self and us (SU), stories of us and now (UN), stories of self and now (SN), and complete narrative (SUN).

Due to Ganz's assertion that public narrative is most effective in its complete form, a three-category breakdown of narrative components called *narrative completeness* was developed to examine the impact of levels of completeness of public narrative. This three-category breakdown includes *no narrative*, or the absence of any narrative components; *partial narrative,* the appearance of any individual component or dyadic combination; and *complete narrative*, the appearance of all three components together.

Issue type. Issue type is the broad categorization of the focus or type of canvassing portrayed in a video. Issue type categories include political, religious, health and safety, and other. *Political* refers to canvassing relating to electoral get-out-the-vote canvassing efforts, as well as political advocacy; for example, "Labour Party Election Canvassing training video" (video #70) provides training to canvassers on how to do voter outreach. *Religious* includes ministry-related canvassing such as evangelical efforts to spread religious teachings as well as fundraising and advocacy conducted by religiously-oriented organizations including houses of worship and religious community groups; for example, "What is book Canvassing? Let's do it all for God!" by One Step Closer (video #6) features canvassers from a religious group sharing their stories of canvassing to spread the word of Jesus. *Health and*

safety includes canvassing done by organizations whose primary focus relates to health, such as cancer societies, or safety, such as fire prevention; for example, "Door-to-door canvasser guide" (video #19) gives an overview of canvassing for the Canadian Cancer Society. *Other* includes canvassing relating to any issues that do not fit the above categories, such as animal rescue canvassing; for example, "Stray Cat Alliance Canvassing Day helps family, cats and kittens (video #23) shows one woman's efforts canvassing for the Stray Cat Alliance, making spay and neuter appointments for neighborhood pets.

In traditional canvassing, the issue type can determine canvassing strategy, with different strategies employed for persuasion, action mobilization, and fundraising. Thus it is possible that differences may emerge in YouTube canvassing videos between these categories. For example, in traditional canvassing, political canvassing is typically oriented around either fundraising from and mobilization of existing supporters, often of targeted demographics, or persuasion of non-supporters, as demonstrated in the Labour Party video. Religious canvassing is ministry-oriented, involving persuasion efforts to spread the word of a particular religion, such as the group One Step Closer sharing the word of Jesus with the goal of converting non-Christians to the Christian faith. Health and safety outreach efforts focus on fundraising or raising awareness among the general population rather than on persuasion efforts, such as the Canadian Cancer Society video.

Organization type. Organization type categorizes more specifically than issue type the function of the organization which has produced or is featured in a video. Organization type includes various types of nonprofit, political, religious, and community groups, as well as other traditional collective action groups such as labor unions; these types are further

coded at various organizational levels (e.g. the main branch of the organization or a chapter of an organization).

Nonprofit organizations include several types: nonprofit service organizations (focused on providing services to their members), nonprofit advocacy organizations (which engage in advocacy efforts on behalf of their constituencies), nonprofit philanthropy organizations (charitable organizations focused on philanthropy), and multipurpose nonprofit organizations, which have more than one service, advocacy, or philanthropic focus. Each of these nonprofit organization types is further delineated as either the main, or top-level, organization, or a chapter of the organization.

Political organization types include political parties, which are formally organized party structures, are delineated either as national (e.g. the Democratic Party) or local (e.g. the Ohio Dems).

Electoral organizations, or political campaigns, are coded at three levels: national, local office, and local. National electoral organizations refers to those electoral organizations working at a national level, such as a presidential or parliamentary election (e.g. Barack Obama for America). An electoral organization local office refers to a local office working on a national election (e.g. Obama for America-Iowa). Local electoral organizations refers to electoral campaigns at a lower-than-national level, such as state, municipal, or county elections. Local electoral organizations are defined in this general way rather than more specifically to account for national variations in jurisdictional definitions (e.g. state or county versus borough).

Religious organizations refers to organizations whose primary purpose is religiously oriented. Like nonprofit organizations, religious organizations were initially broken down

into either main or chapter. However, due to a large variation in types of religious organizations (e.g. youth groups, Christian colleges, churches, etc.) among a small total number of videos produced by these organizations (n=7), the "main" and "chapter" categories were not a good fit and the religious organization categories were collapsed into one.

Additional organization types include *labor unions* which, like nonprofits, are coded as either main branch or chapter; *government agencies*, referring to any government department or agency, coded as either national or local (any agency at the lower-than-national level, again to account for national variation); and *community action groups*, referring to groups of community members working together for a common goal, but not formalized as traditional organizations. Community action groups, unlike other organization types, are not coded at different organizational levels, as they are by definition locally organized.

Country of origin. Country of origin identifies the home country of the organization or issue associated with a video. Country of origin is identified either in the name of the organization, such as the Canadian Cancer Society or Arkansans for Equality (the latter referring to Arkansas, USA), or through a cursory Web search. Five countries are represented in the sample: the United States, the United Kingdom (including England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland), the Republic of Ireland, Canada, and Australia. As the traditional organizing form of public narrative was developed by Ganz specifically in relation to organizing efforts in the United States, such as the Obama presidential campaign, there may be variation in the use of public narrative based on country. However, the ubiquity of storytelling among cultures may transcend the local development of a specific narrative structure, lending insight into the use of stories in organizing across countries.

Production style. Videos are coded as produced either formally or entrepreneurially. Formal videos are produced by an organization for purposes relating directly to the organization's mission, and clearly demarcated by the organization's brand in the form of a logo or web site. For example, one video posted to YouTube by Yes Equality, the nonprofit which spearheaded the 2015 referendum to approve civil marriage unions for gay couples in Ireland, prominently displays the organization's logo both as the video's narrator first addresses the audience and again for an extended period at the end of the video, along with the organization's web site. Entrepreneurial videos are produced by individuals loosely affiliated with an organizational effort (such as canvassers doing voter outreach) but do not include an organizational brand and need not fulfill an express organizational purpose. For example, an account holder called Carl Rust uploaded a video titled "Canvassing for Bernie" which consists of a brief clip of Rust's experience canvassing, fulfills no clear purpose beyond diary-style documentation, and displays no official logo or organizational brand.

The delineation between formal and entrepreneurial videos may be important in several ways. Formal videos are produced with a specific organizational goal in mind, and thus may involve greater strategy--such as use of the public narrative structure--than entrepreneurial videos. Formal videos are likely produced with more resources, including financial resources contributing to production quality (such as the ability to purchase and use copyright-protected music) and organizational resources such as access to elites who may be featured in the video either alongside or instead of "ordinary people." These variables potentially relating to formal and entrepreneurial production--public narrative, production quality, music, and elites/ordinary people as characters--are all expected to contribute to variations in video popularity.

Humor. Humor is broken down using the categories created by Knobel and Lankshear (2007) and further delineated by Shifman (2011). These include biting social commentary, playfulness, incongruity, and superiority. *Biting social commentary* is the use of humor to address a political or social issue (Knobel & Lankshear, 2007). *Playfulness* involves the overt use of humor involving "a multi-layered perception of social situations" (Shifman, 2011, p. 195-6). *Incongruity* is the result of the meeting of incongruous elements, such as a pun, a person wearing the clothing of the opposite gender, or the personification of inanimate objects. *Superiority* involves people or things which are "unintentionally, or at least not clearly intentionally, funny" (Shifman, 2011, p. 196), resulting in a sense of superiority in the viewer.

Music. Music is operationalized on a four-point scale: *no music*, or music is used not at all in the video; *background music*, in which used in only part of the video and/or is used discreetly and is not a focus of the video; *music emphasized*, in which used a great deal in a video and/or contributes heavily to the progression of the video; and *music oriented*, in which the entire video is centered on music, such as in the case of a music video. Ultimately only one video was coded as *music oriented*, and thus the *music oriented* and *music emphasized* categories were collapsed into *music emphasized.*

Featured characters. This category stems from Shifman's (2011) observation that a focus on "ordinary people" contributes to video popularity. "Ordinary people" in the case of canvassing videos includes canvassers, grassroots organizational members, and the general public. Elites, in contrast, include organizational leaders, community leaders, and organizational targets.

Production quality. This viral element is broken down into four levels: highly professional, professional, amateur, and highly amateur. Professional videos include high-quality audio and visuals, smooth transitions, and no obvious production gaffes, while *highly* professional videos demonstrate an extremely high caliber of video editing only made possible by professional software (comparable to high-cost television commercials, TV shows, or movies). Amateur videos are those which demonstrate lower quality audio and visuals, but are not overtly clumsy and have undergone some editing (such as incorporating transitions between scenes). Highly amateur videos demonstrate little to no editing, such as raw cell phone footage.

Popularity measures. Popularity metrics, consisting of views, positive and negative ratings, comments, and shares are displayed on a video's YouTube page. Positive ratings are displayed as "thumbs up," and negative ratings as "thumbs down." Comments are displayed as the total number of comments left by YouTube users, or a message appears indicating that the video owner (uploader) has disabled the comment function for that video. Number of shares is displayed under the "statistics" tab on the video page, unless that function is hidden by the video owner. Popularity metrics were recorded at the time each video was added to the sample to preserve the data in case a video is removed from YouTube, and to control for the multiple views accrued as researchers subsequently view and re-view the video on YouTube.

Though several popularity measures were recorded, ultimately popularity was measured in terms of views. Chatzopoulou, Sheng, and Faloutsos (2010) demonstrated a strong correlation between views, ratings, comments, and shares across a large sample of YouTube videos. In the current sample, most videos achieved low popularity across the all measures compared to YouTube videos as a whole, and many received no ratings, comments,

or shares, though all had view counts greater than zero and most achieved view counts at least in the double digits. As such, the views metric provided the most detailed data for analysis of popularity.

Two videos which were extreme outliers in terms of views were excluded from the sample. Both were produced by an Irish Republican government agency ("Electoral Commission") for the purpose of informing all eligible voters about receiving and returning election ballots, and there were no other videos of this type in the sample.

Due to a very large spread in views, the variable of views was log transformed to meet the assumption of normally distributed errors (Field, 2013).

Temporal measures. Like popularity metrics, video duration and lifespan are garnered directly from the video's YouTube page. Duration is displayed on the video player in minutes and seconds. Duration of a YouTube video has previously been identified as relating to video popularity, with shorter videos garnering more views (Jiang et al., 2014). Lifespan is calculated using the date on which the video was posted and the date on which the video was logged for the sample. For example, a video posted on May 16, 2015, and logged on January 4, 2016, has a lifespan of 233 days. Video lifespan can be used as a control variable for the relationship between popularity metrics and time.

D. Analysis and Results

Pearson chi-square tests were used to test associations between nominal variables (see Agresti, 2002). Associations between continuous variables and nominal measures were done with ANOVA and associated t and F tests. Poisson regression was used to test differences in counts (e.g., the number of videos using story of self versus the number not using story of self). Poisson regression provides more a robust test for count data than nonparametric tests

(Fagerland & Sandvik, 2009). Poisson regressions were estimated with Stata 14.1-64; all other analyses were computed with SPSS 23.

Tables 1-3 provide descriptive statistics for the primary variables.

Overall, results suggest that formal organizations and entrepreneurial producers employ narrative components differently. The use of complete public narrative is not shown to increase popularity. The viral elements of music and production quality contribute to increased popularity, while humor and character types do not. Evidence of mediation is not found.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Categorical Variables (n = 93)

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percent
Narrative components	None	49	52.7
	Story of self	9	9.7
	Story of us	7	7.5
	Story of now	5	5.4
	Stories of self and us	2	2.2
	Stories of us and now	7	7.5
	Stories of self and now	2	2.2
	Complete public narrative	12	12.9
Narrative completeness	No narrative	49	52.7
	Partial narrative	32	34.4
	Complete narrative	12	12.9
Issue type	Political	74	79.6
	Religious	8	8.6
	Health & safety	7	7.5
	Other	4	4.3
Organization type	Nonprofit	28	30.1
	Political party	15	16.1
	Canvassing company	2	2.2
	Electoral	30	32.3
	Government agency	2	2.2
	Religious	8	8.6
	Community action	6	6.5
	Labor union	2	2.2
Country of origin	United States	63	67.7
	United Kingdom	12	12.9
	Ireland	7	7.5
	Canada	9	9.7
	Australia	2	2.2
Production style	Formal	57	61.3
	Entrepreneurial	36	38.7
Humor	No humor	68	73.1
	Quirky only	20	21.5
	Biting commentary & quirky	4	4.3
	Other	1	1.1
Music	No music	48	51.6
	Background music	27	29.0
	Emphasis on music	18	19.4
Characters	No characters	1	1.1
	Ordinary people only	43	46.2
	Elites only	8	8.6
	Ordinary people & elites	41	44.1
Production quality	Highly professional	17	18.3
	Professional	21	22.6
	Amateur	35	37.6
	Highly amateur	20	21.5

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for Continuous Variables (n = 93)

Variable	Min	Max	Median	Mean	SD
Lifespan (days)	7	1462	273	466.9	455.7
Duration (seconds)	9	2160	122	210.1	276.9
Popularity (views)	7	8304	141	539.0	1266.0

Table 3. Organization Type by Production Style (n = 93)

		Production style			
		Formal		Entrepreneurial	
		n	%	*n*	%
Organization type	Nonprofit	20	71.4	8	28.6
	Political party	10	66.7	5	33.3
	Canvassing company	1	50.0	1	50.0
	Electoral	13	43.3	17	56.7
	Government agency	2	100.0	0	0.0
	Religious	7	87.5	1	12.5
	Community action	3	50.0	3	50.0
	Labor union	1	50.0	1	50.0

III. Results

Overall, the results presented below show that only about half the videos used any traditional public narrative components. This is quite surprising given the prevalence of public narrative in face-to-face canvassing. When complete public narratives *are* present, they are strongly associated with formal production, suggesting that traditional collective action logics in digital organizing are more likely to be used by formal organizations than by entrepreneurial actors. A strong association between story of self and entrepreneurial production indicates that entrepreneurial producers, on the other hand, are focused on connective action logics. Findings also indicate that the variables unique to digital organizing significantly impact popularity, while the variables representing strategies adapted from traditional face-to-face organizing are less effective. Music, production quality, and production style are all significantly related to higher popularity, while humor and types of characters are not related to popularity.

In other words, the results suggest that rather than adapting traditional verbal strategies developed for face-to-face canvassing to the digital realm, organizations and networked supporters are taking advantage of the tools afforded them by digital technology. In doing so, however, they may not be maximizing their impact on the audience. For example, though music may be effective at getting and maintaining the audience's attention and thus achieving high view count, without a substantive persuasive framework (such as that provided by public narrative in face-to-face conversations) the audience may not be persuaded to act; further investigation of effects on the audience is necessary. In the canvassing videos here, use of complete public narrative is only marginally related to higher popularity compared to the use of individual or dyadic narrative components, which suggests

that an alternative form to public narrative may be more effective in the digital context. No evidence is found of viral elements serving to mediate the relationship between public narrative and popularity.

Results for H1. Based on the literature indicating a shift toward connective action and DNA, hypothesis one predicted that the story of self (S) is more likely to occur across YouTube canvassing videos than story of us (U) or story of now (N) in any individual dyadic (SU, SN, UN) or complete (SUN) combination. Hypothesis one is not supported: the story of self is not used more commonly than the other components ($\chi^2 = 0.82$, df = 1, $p = .365$).

Results for RQ1A and H2. RQ1A asked about the relationship between public narrative components and organization type, and hypothesis two predicted that public narrative will be more likely to appear in videos affiliated with electoral organizations than any other type of organization. Hypothesis two is not supported. In fact, when comparing levels of narrative completeness, a higher percentage of videos produced by electoral organizations have *no* narrative compared to all other types of organizations (66.7% compared to 46%, $\chi^2 = 5.036$, df = 2, $p = .081$).

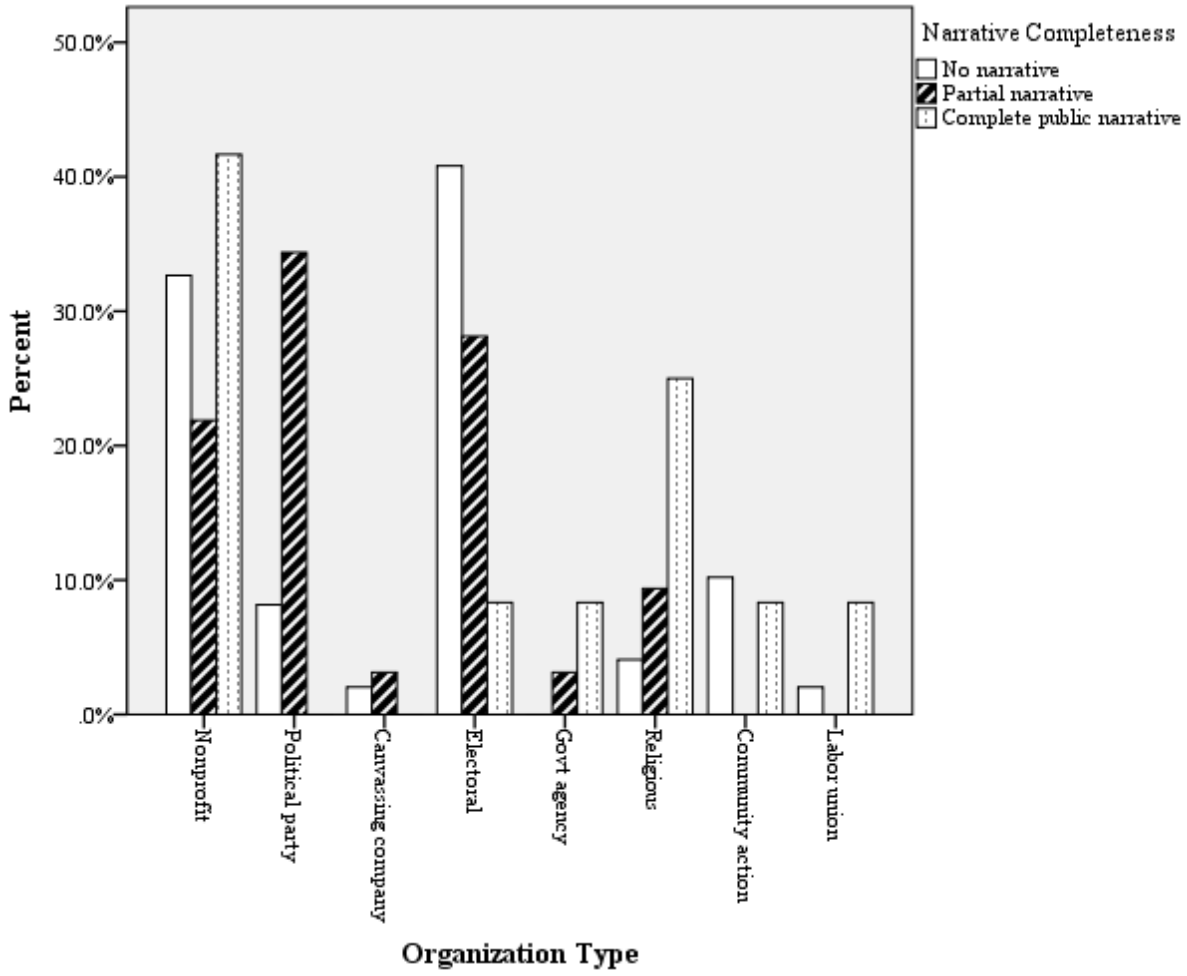
Moreover, organization type is not associated with narrative components using the eight category cross-classification of the various components of public narrative (S, U, N, SU, SN, UN, and SUN). However, organization type *is* associated with narrative completeness ($\chi^2 = 29.929$, df = 14, $p = .008$). Nonprofit and religious organizations were the most likely to use complete public narrative (as shown in Table 3). See Table 4 for a breakdown of narrative completeness by organization type. Figure 1 provides a visual representation of narrative completeness by organization type.

Table 4. Narrative Completeness by Organization Type.

	Organization Type								
	Nonprofit	Political Party	Canvassing Company	Electoral	Govt Agency	Religious	Community Action	Labor Union	Total
Narrative Completeness									
No narrative	16	4	1	20	0	2	5	1	49
Partial narrative	7	11	1	9	1	3	0	0	32
Complete public narrative	5	0	0	1	1	3	1	1	12
Total	28	15	2	30	2	8	6	2	93

$\chi^2 = 29.929$, $df = 14$, $p = .008$

Figure 1. Narrative Completeness (%) by Organizational Type



Results for RQ1B, H3, and RQ1C. This cluster of research questions deals with the relationships between production style on one hand, and public narrative components and

organization type on the other hand. RQ1B asked about the relationship between public narrative components and production style, and H3 predicted that the complete public narrative (SUN) is more likely to occur in videos which are formally produced by organizations than in videos which are produced entrepreneurially by networked supporters. RQ1C asked about the relationship between organization type and production style.

Hypothesis three is supported. Videos which are formally produced are far more likely than those that are entrepreneurially produced to incorporate full public narrative (19.3% versus 2.8%, $\chi^2 = 5.36$, df = 1, $p = .021$). In fact, of the twelve videos using complete public narrative, only one is produced entrepreneurially, and this video met two of the three criteria for formal production, being produced on behalf of an organization and having a specific organizational purposes. Only the stylistic criterion, inclusion of an organizational brand or logo was not found in this video. Findings indicate the use of public narrative in the digital context remains almost entirely in the domain of formal organizations, and has not been adopted by entrepreneurial producers. Given the effectiveness of the public narrative model in traditional organizing, failing to incorporate the full narrative, in particular the stories of us and now, could be a detriment to entrepreneurial organizers. Figure 2 provides a visual representation of narrative components by production style.

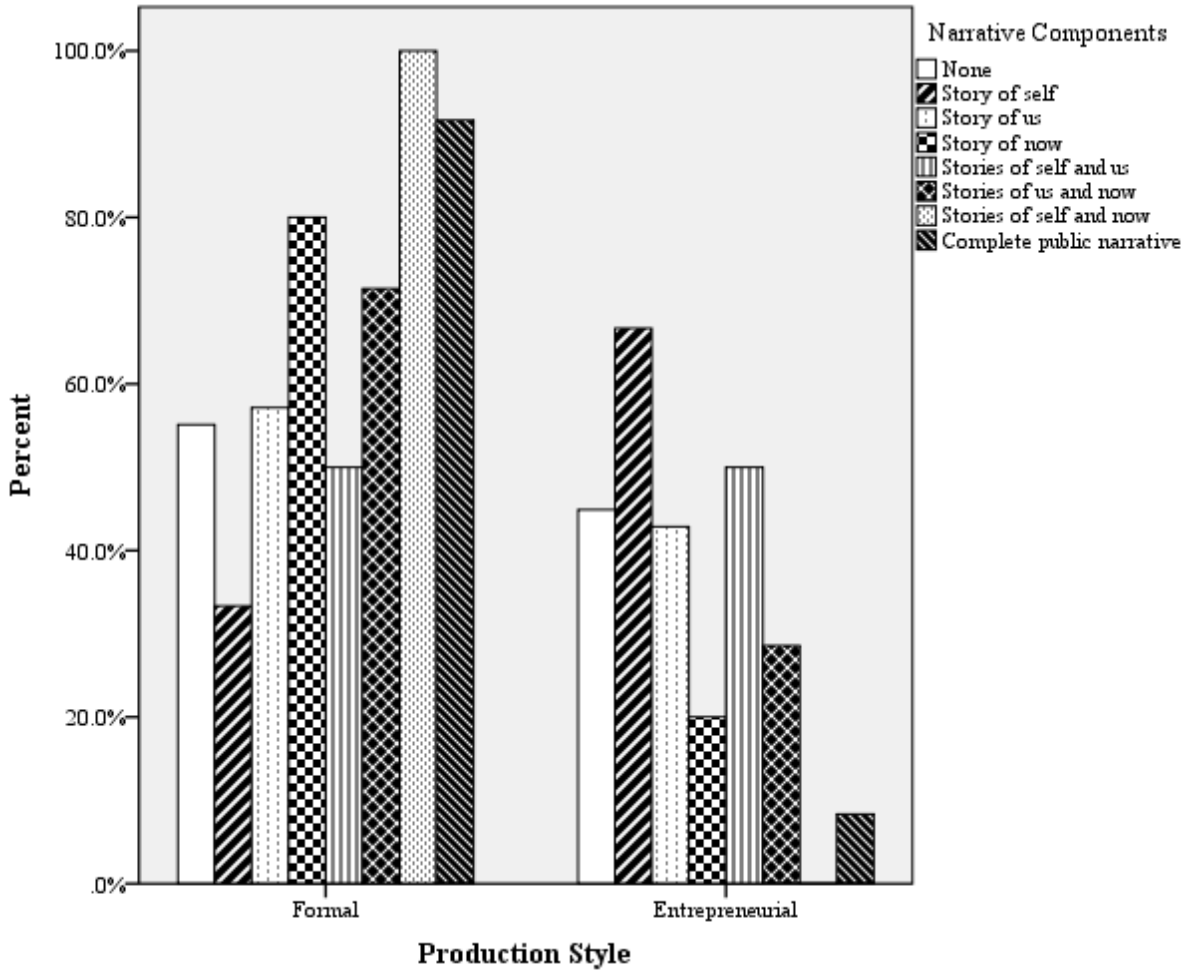
Furthermore, findings show that though the story of self alone was not used more frequently *overall*, as predicted by H1, the story of self alone *was* used most commonly in entrepreneurial videos. Using the eight-category cross-classification, this was the only narrative component used more commonly in entrepreneurial rather than formal videos, and there was no association between production style and any of the other narrative components. This association between story of self and entrepreneurial production is marginally

significant ($\chi^2 = 3.28$, df = 1, $p = .07$), and falls in line with the connective action organizing logic: entrepreneurial videos associated with connective action networks are more likely to focus on personal, individual narratives rather than collective narratives represented by the story of us.

Story of now, on the other hand, is significantly associated with formal style (38.6% versus 11.1%, $\chi^2 = 8.28$, df = 1, $p = .004$) indicating that formal organizations, more than entrepreneurial producers, are focused on conveying the urgency of immediate action to achieve a common goal. This conforms to traditional collective action logics. The story of us is also associated with formal style, though this is only marginally significant (36.8% versus 19.4%, $\chi^2 = 3.17$, df = 1, $p = .075$). This provides further support for the idea that formally produced videos emphasize the traditional collective action logics. Story of self was not associated with formal production style (29.8% versus 22.2%, ns).

RQ1C asked about the relationship between organization type and production style. Findings show that videos produced for electoral purposes are more likely to be produced entrepreneurially (56.7%, $\chi^2 = 6.019$, df = 1, $p = .014$). Many of these videos involve networked actors sharing experience they have had canvassing—in other words, crafting and sharing their own personal action frames.

Figure 2. Narrative Components (%) by Production Style



Results for RQ2A and RQ2B. This cluster of research questions deals with the associations between viral elements on the one hand, and organization type and narrative components on the other hand. RQ2A asks about the relationship between organization type and viral elements. RQ2B asks about the relationship between narrative components and viral elements. First, the frequencies for use of each viral element are presented, followed by results for their associations with organization type and narrative components.

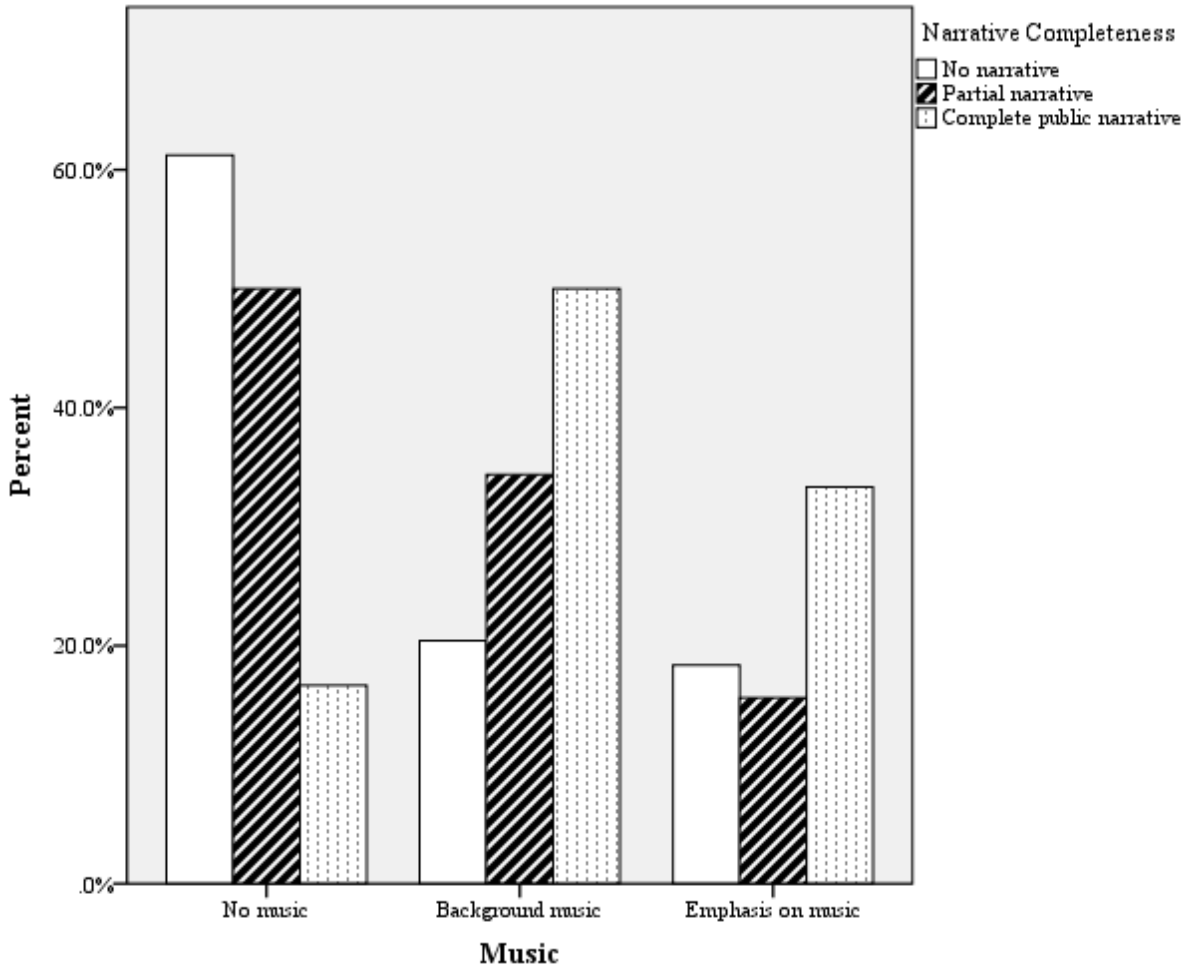
Music is used commonly in about half of the videos (n = 45), with 19.4% (n = 18) emphasizing music, 29% (n = 27) employing background music, and 51.6% (n = 48) using

no music. Humor was used much less frequently, in only 26.9% (n = 25) of the videos; 21.5% (n = 20) used quirky humor, 4.3% (n = 4) used quirky and biting social commentary, 1.1% (n = 1) used some other type of humor, and 73.1% (n = 68) used no humor. None of the videos employed biting social commentary alone. All but one video portrayed some sort of characters, with 46.2% (n = 43) portraying only ordinary people, 8.6% (n = 8) only elites, and 44.1% (n = 41) both ordinary people and elites. For production style, 18.3% (n = 17) of videos were highly professional, 22.6% (n = 21) professional, 37.6% (n = 35) amateur, and 21.5% (n = 20) highly amateur.

RQ2A deals with the relationships between organization type and viral elements. Organization type is not associated with the use of music ($\chi^2 = 18.88$, df = 14, $p = .17$), the use of humor ($\chi^2 = 18.04$, df = 21, $p = .647$), types of characters portrayed ($\chi^2 = 9.47$, df = 21, $p = .985$) or production quality ($\chi^2 = 27.01$, df = 21, $p = .17$). It does not appear that viral elements associated with popularity in videos are utilized differentially across organizational types.

RQ2B deals with the relationships between narrative components and viral elements. Music is the only viral element associated with narrative use, though marginally significant ($\chi^2 = 8.86$, df = 4, $p = .072$). Most of the videos that used no narrative also used no music (61.2%), while over 80% of videos using complete narrative used music at some level (50% background music and 33.3% emphasizing music). Figure 3 provides a visual representation of the use of music by narrative completeness.

Figure 3. Use of Music (%) by Narrative Completeness.



Narrative use and humor are not associated ($\chi^2 = 4.77$, df = 6, $p = .574$). Videos using complete narrative might be relying more heavily on other emotional cues; this requires further exploration. Narrative and types of characters used are also not associated ($\chi^2 = 2.44$, df = 6, $p = .875$). Though a focus on ordinary people (to the exclusion of elites) has been demonstrated to contribute to *viralness*, it may be necessary to a narrative structure to incorporate elites in some form.

Complete narrative was not associated with professional production quality. Rather, complete narrative was evenly distributed among the four levels of production quality ($\chi^2 =$

1.04, df = 3, p = .792). Neither professional quality nor amateurism are favored by the producers, which is in line with the mixed opinions in the literature about which is more effective.

Results for RQ3A, H4, RQ3B, RQ3C, and RQ3D. This cluster of research questions deals with the relationships between popularity on the one hand and narrative components, organization type, and production style on the other hand. RQ3A asks about the relationship between popularity and narrative components, and hypothesis four predicts that popularity will be positively associated with the use of complete narrative compared to individual components (S, U, or N) or dyadic combinations (SU, SN, or UN). RQ3B asks about the relationship between popularity and organization type, and RQ3C asks about the relationship between popularity and production style. Finally, RQ3D asks about the interactions among narrative components, organization type, and production style.

Hypothesis four, predicting that popularity will be positively associated with the use of complete narrative compared to individual or dyadic combinations, is marginally supported. Using the eight category cross-classification of narrative components, it appears that videos using complete public narrative are marginally more popular than those using partial or no narrative, though this is non-significant (F = .587, df = 2, p = .558). Figure 4 provides a visual representation of mean popularity by narrative completeness, and Figure 5 provides a visual representation of mean popularity by narrative components.

Figure 4. Mean Popularity (Log) by Narrative Completeness.

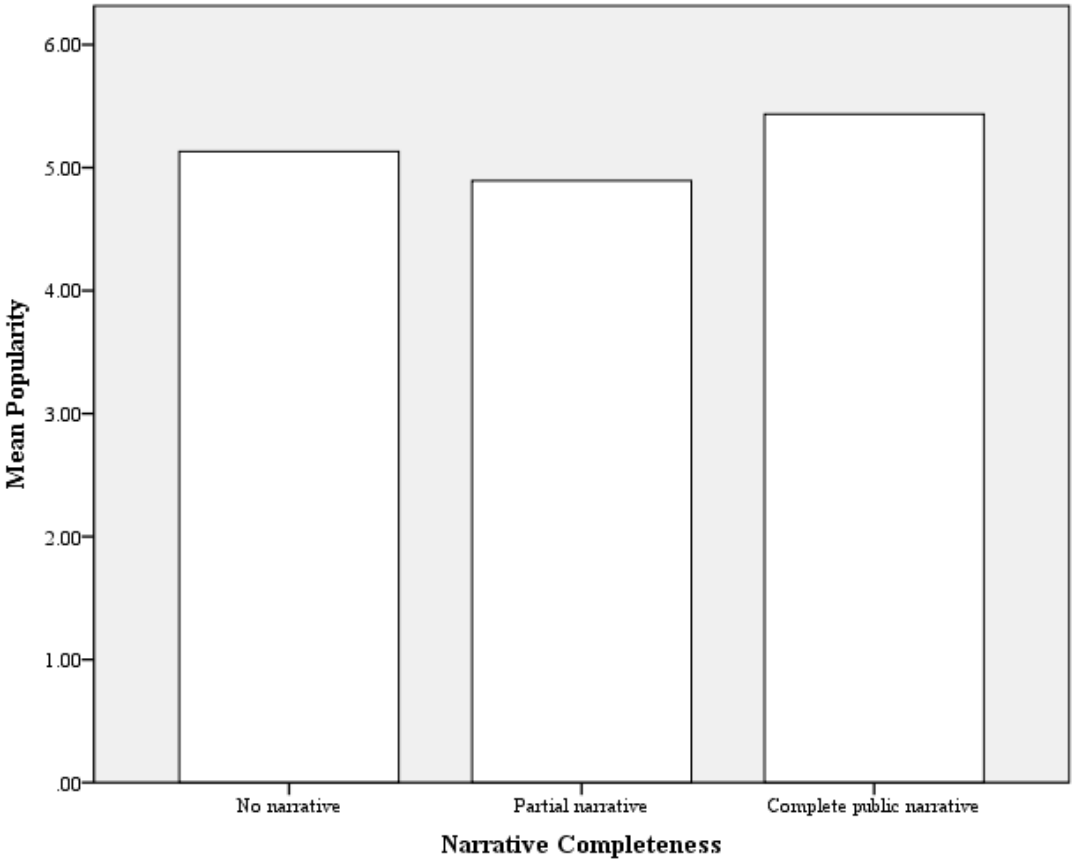
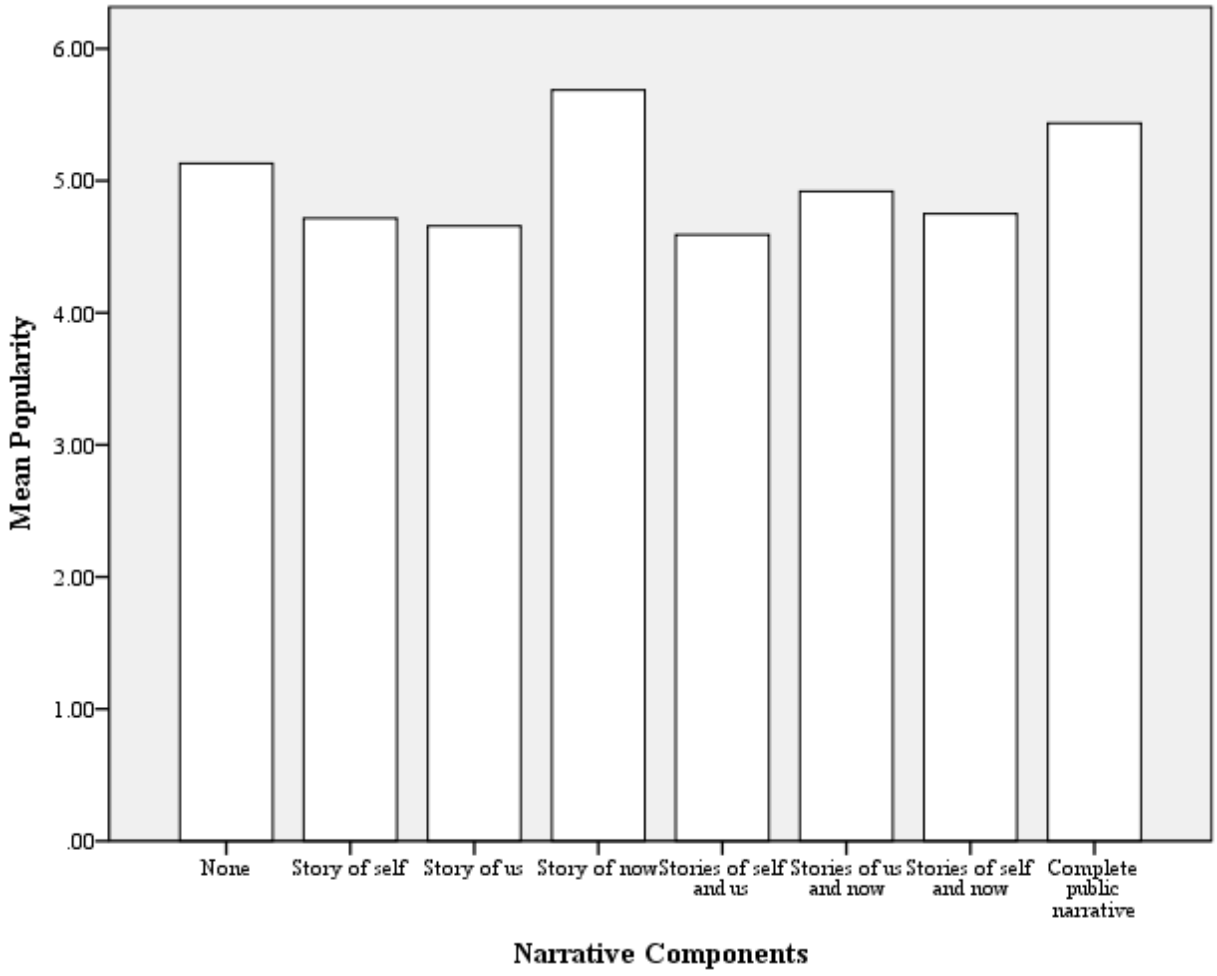


Figure 5. Mean Popularity (Log) by Narrative Components.

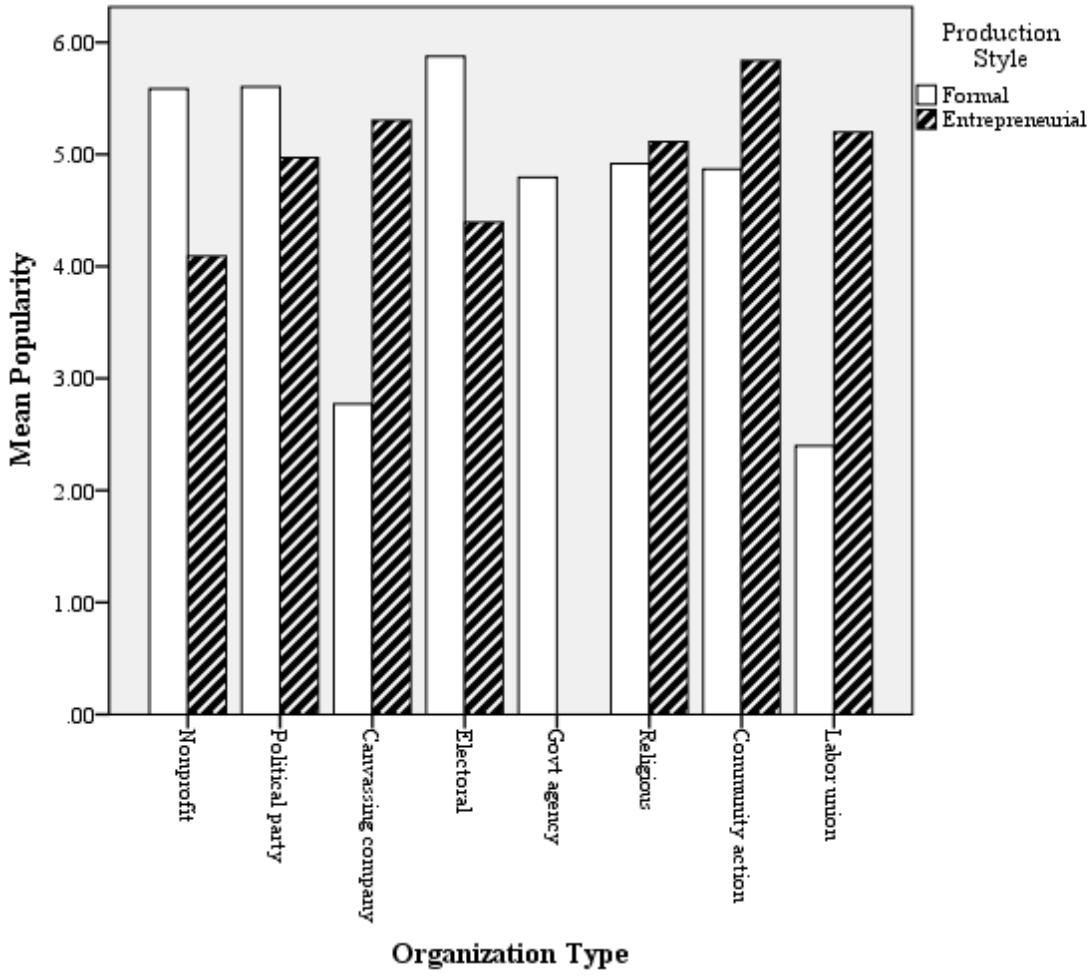


RQ3B and RQ3C ask about the relationship between popularity and organization type and popularity and production style, respectively. Results show that although video popularity is not associated with organization type (F = .465, df = 7, p = .857), popularity is strongly associated with production style (F = 6.55, df = 1, p = .012). Formally produced videos achieve higher popularity than entrepreneurially produced videos. This indicates that, across organization types, the vital contributing factor to popularity is formal production by an organization. Formal production is in turn related to several factors that may be driving

this association: knowledge, resources, networks, and organizational identification. These are discussed in greater depth below.

RQ3D asks about the interactions among narrative components, organization type, and production style. It appears that there is an interaction effect between narrative type and electoral organizations that is driving popularity. The main effect of narrative completeness and electoral organizations is significant (t = 3.024, p = .003), while the overall interaction effect between narrative completeness and organization type is non-significant (F = 1.119, df = 9, p = .361), indicating that there is something different about electoral organization videos. In addition, there are positive, significant interactions between both formal production style and electoral organizations on popularity (t = 1.988, p = .05), and formal production and nonprofit organizations on popularity (t = 2.0, p = .049). Despite this, the overall interaction between organization type and production style is non-significant (F = 1.846, df = 6, p = .101) and, when including the interaction effects, the main effect of production style is now non-significant (t = -1.352, p = .18). See Figure 6 for a visual representation of production style, organization type, and popularity.

Figure 6. Mean Popularity (Log) by Organization Type and Production Style



Formally produced videos by political parties and by electoral and nonprofit organizations are more popular than their entrepreneurial counterparts. This effect is strongest for videos by nonprofit and electoral organizations. Entrepreneurial videos by canvassing companies, community action groups, religious organizations, and labor unions are more popular than formal videos by those types of organizations. In short, it is electoral and nonprofit organizations that drive the association between production style and popularity.

Results for RQ3E, H5, H6, H7, and H8, RQ3F, and H9. This cluster of research questions and hypotheses addresses the association between popularity and viral elements. RQ3E asks about the relationship between popularity and viral elements, and H5 through H8 predict specific relationships between popularity and the various viral elements. The results for these hypotheses were mixed. Popularity is associated with music and production quality, but not associated with humor or ordinary people as characters. RQ3F asks whether viral elements mediate the relationship between narrative completeness, organization type, and production style on one hand and popularity on the other, and H9 predicts that such a mediating effect will be found.

Hypothesis five predicted that popularity will be positively associated with the use of music. Hypothesis five is supported. Popularity is associated with the use of music ($F = 4.54$, df = 2, $p = .013$). Videos emphasizing music are most popular, closely followed by background music, and least popular are videos using no music (for no music compared to an emphasis on music, $\beta = -.981$, $t = -2.415$, $p = .018$).

Hypothesis six predicted that popularity will be positively associated with the use of humor. This hypothesis is not supported. Popularity is not associated with the use of humor ($F = .466$, df = 3, $p = .707$). Hypothesis seven predicted that popularity will be positively associated with the portrayal of ordinary people as characters. Hypothesis seven is also not supported. The association between popularity and types of characters is not significant ($F = 2.282$, df = 3, $p = .085$), though it is possible that popularity would be associated with types of characters cast in different roles.

Hypothesis eight predicted that popularity will be associated with production quality. Hypothesis eight is supported. Popularity is associated with production quality ($F = 7.183$, df

= 3, p = .000), with highly professional videos being the most popular and highly amateur videos the least popular. This supports the prescription of the Centers for Disease Control (see Walton et al., 2012) which advise nonprofit organizations to maximize the production quality used in outreach videos.

Hypothesis nine predicted that the relationship between popularity and narrative completeness and organization type, and production style will be mediated by viral elements. Hypothesis nine is not supported. No evidence was found to support mediation between the variables. The viral elements do not mediate the popularity outcomes of narrative completeness, organization type, or production style. See Table 5 for mediation tests.

A. Summary of Key Findings

Table six summarizes key findings. Across the sample, the public narrative model was used in only half of the videos. This is surprising, and may indicate that a different narrative format is more commonly used and potentially more effective in the digital context; one such format may be memes, which are discussed below. When used, public narrative is strongly associated with formal production, though public narrative is only marginally related to higher popularity. Rather, popularity is strongly affected by production style, with formally produced videos being more popular than their entrepreneurial counterparts. Popularity is also related to factors unique to digital organizing, while factors adapted from traditional organizing do not impact popularity.

The use of public narrative is not associated with the use of viral elements except for a marginal association with music. Electoral videos are associated with entrepreneurial production, and the story of self is the only narrative component associated with entrepreneurial production. Story of now, on the other hand, is significantly associated with

formal production, and story of us is marginally so. These findings demonstrate differing logics employed by formal organizations and entrepreneurial organizers. Formal organizations are more tied to traditional collective logics, while entrepreneurial producers are moving to a stronger reliance on connective logics. This distinction will be further explored in the next chapter.

Table 5. Test for Mediation in the Relationship Between Popularity and Narrative Completeness, Organization Type, and Production Style

	Parameter Estimates														Model statistics		
	B	95% C.I.	B	95% C.I.	B	95% C.I.	B	95% C.I.	B	95% C.I.	B	95% C.I.	B	95% C.I.	F	df	sig
Narrative Completeness																	
	Partial		*Complete*														
Unadjusted	-0.238	-.930, .454	0.304	-.676, 1.285											0.587	2	0.558
Music	-0.339	-1.014, .335	-0.114	-1.103, .874											2.496	4	0.048
Humor	-0.169	-.884, .547	0.292	-.702, 1.287											0.429	5	0.828
Characters	-0.171	-.852, .511	0.449	-.525, 1.413											1.653	5	1.55
Production quality	-0.395	-1.034, .245	0.146	-.753, 1.046											4.173	5	0.001
Organization Type																	
	Political Party		*Canvass Company*		*Electoral Org*		*Govt. Agency*		*Religious Org*		*Community Action*		*Labor Union*				
Unadjusted	0.234	-.757, 1.225	-1.12	-3.386, 1.147	-0.122	-.396, .691	-0.364	-2.631, 1.902	-2.15	-1.458, 1.025	0.195	-1.198, 1.588	-1.36	-3.626, .907	0.465	7	0.857
Music	0.339	-.611, 1.288	-1.165	-3.352, 1.023	-0.069	-.856, .718	-0.339	-2.513, 1.834	-0.718	-1.957, .521	0.384	-.956, 1.724	-0.843	-3.035, 1.349	1.515	9	0.156
Humor	0.228	-.767, 1.224	-1.234	-3.522, 1.054	-0.106	-.931, .718	-0.479	-2.767, 1.810	-0.218	1.466, 1.029	0.23	-1.168, 1.629	-1.897	-4.333, .538	0.581	10	0.825
Characters	0.38	-.599, 1.358	-0.942	-3.185, 1.301	-0.037	-.844, .771	-0.526	-2.781, 1.729	-0.069	-1.290, 1.153	0.208	-1.168, 1.574	-1.352	-3.575, .872	1.021	10	0.433
Production quality	0.334	-.601, 1.270	-0.809	-2.925, 1.308	-0.204	-.958, .550	-1.167	-3.242, .909	-0.378	-1.526, .771	0.609	-.722, 1.939	-0.741	-2.807, 1.326	2.657	10	0.007
Production style																	
	Formal																
Unadjusted	0.807	.180, 1.433													6.547	1	0.012
Music	0.541	-.151, 1.234													3.878	3	0.012
Humor	0.781	.138, 1.424													1.826	4	0.131
Characters	0.724	.103, 1.346													3.139	4	0.018
Production quality	0.323	-.332, .979													5.626	4	0

Table 6. Summary of key findings.

Hypothesis	Supported?	Interpretation
H1: The story of self (S) is more likely to occur across YouTube canvassing videos than story of us (U) or story of now (N) or any dyadic (SU, SN, UN) or complete (SUN) combination.	No	Rather than favor the story of self,, the three components of public narrative appear with similar frequency across the sample.
H2: Public narrative will be more likely to appear in videos affiliated with electoral organizations than any other type of organization.	No	Contrary to expectation, a higher proportion of videos associated with electoral organizations included no components of public narrative.
H3: The complete public narrative (SUN) is more likely to occur in videos which are formally produced by organizations than in videos which are produced entrepreneurially by networked supporters.	Yes	Even in the digital context, formal organizations rely on traditional logics, represented by public narrative, while entrepreneurial producers do not.
H4: Popularity will be positively associated with the use of complete narrative compared to individual components (S, U, or N) or dyadic combinations (SU, SN, or UN).	Marginal support	There is no significant relationship between public narrative and popularity, indicating that public narrative does not lead to the same success online as it has in traditional face-to-face efforts.
H5: Popularity will be positively associated with the use of music.	Yes	The two viral elements that are also available and used in traditional canvassing, humor and ordinary people, did not contribute to popularity. The two viral elements unique to the digital context, music and production quality, were positively associated with popularity.
H6: Popularity will be positively associated with the use of humor.	No	
H7: Popularity will be positively associated with the portrayal of ordinary people as characters.	No	
H8: Popularity will be associated with production quality.	Yes	
H9: The relationship between popularity and narrative completeness and organization type, and production style will be mediated by viral elements.	No	Though two viral elements (music and production style) did relate significantly to popularity, none of the viral elements were shown to mediate between popularity and narrative completeness.

IV. Discussion

Overall this study suggests that although both formal organizations and entrepreneurs use the hybrid form of online canvassing as a technique for connecting with members of the public and other salient stakeholders such as fellow organizers, when they use pubic narrative components they do so differentially. Entrepreneurs employ the story of self more commonly than do formal organizations. In contrast, formal organizations are far more likely to employ the complete public narrative, as well as the discrete story of now, than are entrepreneurs. Though the public narrative structure has been demonstrated as highly effective in the traditional, face-to-face canvassing context, findings demonstrating strong relationships between use of music and popularity, as well as production style and popularity, suggest that additional factors contribute to popularity in the digital context and may have an even greater influence on popularity than does public narrative. This chapter will first discuss the public narrative structure in relation to popularity. The role of viral elements and their association with both popularity and narrative use is then discussed. I next address production style and related factors which may be driving popularity, including hybridity, and the association between production style and narrative components. Finally, the limitations of the study and directions for further research will be explicated.

A. Public Narrative

Contrary to expectation, the use of public narrative does not seem to increase video popularity. This may be from a lack of flexibility in the public narrative structure when this structure is employed digitally. Though in traditional face-to-face organizing the public narrative affords a great deal of flexibility through two-way communication, allowing

canvassers to adapt the narrative to meet the preferences of a canvass target, this type of flexibility does not seem to cross over to digital organizing.

In other words, in traditional canvassing, the components of the public narrative story arc can be flexibly adapted in real time in response to the audience. A target stops for a canvasser, who begins to tell the story of self, through questions and feedback develops an idea of the target's identity and preferences, and adapts the stories of us and now accordingly. The ability to adapt is thus crucial in face-to-face organizing. In digital organizing, by contrast, the medium cannot be adapted in real time. It has to be planned and produced in advance. Thus, unlike in the traditional context, the narrative is fixed: a YouTube video is produced, dispersed, and viewed, providing identical material for interpretation by diverse audiences. This *fixedness* limits its appeal to a much narrower audience than a more adaptable face-to-face context. The same features which make public narrative effective in traditional canvassing may undermine its effectiveness in digital organizing.

B. Viral Elements

In the digital context, messages can be augmented by *viral elements*. These are elements of communication that have been demonstrated to contribute to high levels of popularity in digital content, including humor, music, use of ordinary people, and quality of production. Interestingly, humor and a focus on ordinary people, both of which are applied in the traditional canvassing model, are not associated with popularity in digital canvassing videos. Music and production quality, by contrast, are unique to the digital context, and *are* associated with popularity. This section will discuss each element in turn.

Findings show that humor is associated with neither the use of public narrative components nor popularity. Yet humor has been used to great effect in mass mobilization from Saul Alinsky (see Alinsky, 1971) to Jon Stewart and Stephen Colbert (see Baym & Shah, 2011), so humor may not be suited to digital canvassing or to the structure of public narrative. In traditional face-to-face canvassing, humor is most commonly used to "get in the door" or start a conversation, or to build rapport between canvasser and target. In the digital realm, these may be achieved through other means such as music. Though humor has great power to build interpersonal connections, it frequently runs the risk of either offending or falling flat; therefore, when the audience response cannot be read and the message carefully crafted, cues other than humor may be preferable.

The association between music and popularity supports previous research on music as a factor contributing to viral content (see Burgess, 2008; Brooks, 2015). Additionally, music serves as a powerful emotional cue that can help advance a narrative arc, and has been long used by commercial advertisers (Morris & Boone, 1998), as well as in film to direct attention and induce emotion (Cohen, 2001). As music is often used to complement narrative in other contexts like film and advertising, it makes sense that music is also associated with the use of public narrative components in canvassing videos. In this way music can serve as a useful tool in digital organizing.

The use of ordinary people is not associated with either the use of narrative or with video popularity. Though both canvassers and most canvass targets overwhelmingly qualify as "ordinary people," with elites defining organizational strategy rather than hitting the streets to engage in canvassing, it may be that portrayals of elites are necessary to build a complete public narrative. Two types of elites may be portrayed, each with a different

purpose. First, a story of us often requires an in-group "us," which necessarily implies an out-group. The out-group can be an individual or group of elites, such as the opposing candidate in an election, the establishment politicians who are lobbied for progressive change, or the corporate elites who present a natural antagonist to labor unions. Second, in cases where an elite out-group is not explicitly present—perhaps the "us" in the narrative is those affected by cancer, and the implied out-group is not elites but simply those *not* affected by cancer—elites in the form of charismatic figureheads or inspirational organizational leaders may be necessary galvanize action. Further exploration of *how* elites are presented in canvassing videos and whether popularity is related to these portrayals is needed.

Results indicate that higher production quality leads to greater popularity, yet videos employing the complete public narrative are evenly spread among levels of production quality. This reflects, in practice, the split in the literature over whether amateurism or professionalism is more effective. A career politician seeking to appeal to her blue-collar base may wish to promote herself in an amateur style in order to minimize accusations of elitism. On the other hand, a fledgling charity organization may seek to enhance its budding reputation using sleek, professional style that implies greater expertise. It is conceivable that a desire for amateurish videos rather than videos clearly produced with great skill and resources stems from the same shift toward connective rather than collective action—the shift away from formal organizing (or the appearance of such) and towards networks of individuals. Still, as popularity is so strongly associated with professional quality, if video producers are actively choosing to produce amateur quality videos, they must find ways to do so more effectively. In fact, Shifman (2013) argues that it is *earnest amateurism* that is associated with video viralness. If earnestness is necessary for the effective use of amateur

style, video producers must seek to convey that in their videos; it may be that amateurism from the wrong source, such as a career politician, simply appears disingenuous.

C. Production Style and Logics of Collective and Connective Action

Formal and entrepreneurial production styles represent traditional, collective logics and connective, networked logics respectively. Findings here demonstrate a strong association between formal production and video popularity, driven in particular by formal nonprofit and electoral organizations. A variety of factors related to formal production may explain this, and not the fact of formal production itself. It is also shown that there are different uses of narrative components based on production style. This section proposes reasons why formal production might be associated with popularity, examines the types of organizations driving this association, and discusses the different uses of the various narrative components in relation to production style.

Formal production and popularity. Formal production may be related to several factors that drive the strong association with popularity: knowledge, resources, networks, and organizational identification. First, formal organizations possess knowledge about effective organizing strategies garnered from both experience in traditional collective action organizing and from expertise provided by organizational staff and members. Though entrepreneurial producers may be exploring and creating new ways to collect and develop their own knowledge, they lack the history and experience of formal organizations. Second, formal organizations have the resources necessary to craft videos in the manner determined to be most desirable. Formal organizations have broader opportunities to use proprietary popular music, to choose among levels of production quality, and to compensate individuals appearing in the videos. Third, formal organizations are able to disperse digital material

through established networks, including membership and mailing lists, social media pages, and even the mailing lists of other organizations with which they collaborate. Entrepreneurial producers may have social media followings, but rarely on the same scale. Fourth, organizational identification may play a role. That is, *perceived external prestige* of a known entity contributes to identification (see Ashforth et al., 2008), so formal organizations are able to take advantage of name recognition in ways that entrepreneurs cannot.

These factors may each contribute to the higher popularity of formally produced videos, giving formal, established organizations an advantage in the digital realm. This supports the idea that formal organizations still play an important role even in the digital age. Formal organizations deploying these hybrid organizing styles are better able to muster large numbers of web-based viewers than their entrepreneurial counterparts. Using hybrid organizing to effectively combine these institutional benefits with the innovative skills and social networks of digitally networked actors offers a powerful recipe for mass mobilization.

Nonprofit and electoral organizations. Among videos produced by formal organizations, those produced by electoral and nonprofit organizations drive the association between production style and popularity; these are the most effective at incorporating DNA and connective logics into their organizing repertoires. Their success at combining traditional and digital strategies may result from an early transition to hybrid organizing, which began as early as 1999 among nonprofits (see Bimber et al., 2012) and at least as early as 2004 among electoral campaigns (see Chadwick, 2005). Additionally, nonprofit and electoral organizations may be acting as hybrid organizations in ways that other organization types, such as canvassing companies and on-the-ground community action groups do not. Canvassing companies remain focused on traditional face-to-face organizing and community

action groups are locally-rooted, making traditional logics involving close interpersonal contact and group identity more appropriate than loosely networked action.

While both electoral and nonprofit organizations are driving the association between formal style and popularity, this study suggests that nonprofit organizations rely more on the traditional public narrative as a digital tactic whereas electoral organizations no longer utilize the complete public narrative. Indeed, only one of thirty electoral videos used complete public narrative. Several characteristics of electoral organizations may explain this. Electoral organizations, unlike most interest groups, parties, and other types of organizations, are reconstituted every election year, leading to rapid development and frequent re-evaluation of strategies. Frequent shifting of organizational staff amongst campaigns brings new, innovative ideas and technological skills. Electoral organizations thus have greater opportunity and impetus to develop innovative alternative strategies to public narrative that operate more effectively in digital media than do more stable nonprofit forms.

Production style and narrative components. I expected to find a trend toward the connective action logic of personal action framing represented by stories of self. Instead, the similarly frequent use of each narrative component indicates that collective and connective action logics *both* play important roles in digital canvassing videos. However, important differences in narrative use emerge when examining differences in production style. This section will discuss the differences in narrative use between formal organizations and entrepreneurial producers.

The use of full public narrative, incorporating stories of self, us, and now, is almost entirely in the domain of formal organizations. Public narrative is a strategy crafted specifically to elicit certain behavior—commonly to encourage non-members to become

members of an organization, and to take collective action to accomplish the organization's broader aims. These are *not* goals shared by entrepreneurial actors, so the reliance on public narrative by formal organizations and not entrepreneurs makes sense.

In addition, the association between story of now and formal style indicates that formal organizations, more than entrepreneurial producers, are focused more on conveying the urgency of immediate action to achieve a common goal. The story of now as a narrative component is used to create a sense of urgency, and as a call to action. By contrast, networked entrepreneurs are *taking* action by spreading personal action frames. This is illustrated by the fact that story of self was not used more frequently *overall*, but *was* used most commonly in entrepreneurial videos.

In other words, entrepreneurial videos are more likely to focus on personal, individual narratives rather than the collective narratives represented by the stories of us and now. Many of the entrepreneurial electoral videos are anecdotes and personal stories about canvassing, such as supporters of a candidate traveling to a different state to canvass during an important primary or documenting their door-to-door efforts on a harrowingly cold day. What is presented in these entrepreneurial videos are the personalized products of networked actors, exemplifying connective action logics.

These entrepreneurial videos generally are not designed to persuade new supporters or to organize individuals or groups around a common goal, but rather to convey shared or unique experiences, often among a network of fellow supporters. They do not present a common "story of us" (only two of the 17 entrepreneurial electoral videos include story of us in any capacity), but may *implicitly* build a common "us" among networks of like-minded

supporters. This suggests a second order effect for future research wherefore the effects on the audience should be examined.

D. Implications

Digital technologies offer game-changing opportunities for canvassing organizations to develop innovative tactics to merge traditional logics with the new logics of connective action. We are observing this transition in digital canvassing videos. The organizational branding of canvassing videos as done in all but one of the canvassing videos employing public narrative reifies traditional collective action logics and implies that organizations are holding on to their traditional collective identities even as they attempt to hybridize. To fully take advantage of digital opportunities, organizations need to be more flexible, less branded, and more adaptive to new organizing logics. As argued by Bennett and Segerberg (2012), "digital media networking *can* change the organizational game, given the right interplay of technology, personal action frames, and, when organizations get in the game, their willingness to relax collective identification requirements *in favor of personalized social networking* among followers" (p. 748, emphases added).

Memes as an alternative narrative form. Perhaps one of the most striking findings in this study was that only half the canvassing videos included any component of public narrative, a form ubiquitous in face-to-face canvassing settings. While public narrative remains an effective tactic to create an entry point for new actors in traditional, face-to-face organizing, it is likely that a more flexible, adaptable format is more appropriate for digital canvassing. Canvassing in its traditional form delivers a brief, powerful message, often in narrative form, to as many members of the public as possible. Significantly, in face-to-face canvassing, the narrative is negotiated through face-to-face communication, In the digital

context of You Tube, adaptability requires packaging narratives as flexible and personalizable but without the interactive component of face-to face canvassing. Indeed, Canning and Reinsborough (2008) suggest that *memes* may be a more effective narrative structure for digital organizing. According to Shifman (2013) "Dawkins defined memes as small cultural units of transmission, analogous to genes, which are spread from person to person by copying or imitation" (p. 363). In the context of the internet, *meme* refers to the a "particular idea presented as a written text, image, language, 'move,' or some other unit of cultural 'stuff'" (Knobel & Lankshear, 2007, p. 202) which is rapidly spread through digital networks. For example, many viral videos on YouTube are oriented around memes (Shifman, 2013).

In canvassing, narrative memes can be used to mobilize action by "allow[ing] people to express their shared values and act with a common vision" (Canning & Reinsborough, 2008, p. 13), much in the manner of public narrative. For example, the social media campaign "Yes All Women" represents one digital mobilization effort oriented around a narrative meme. This campaign and associated hashtag (#YesAllWomen) arose following the 2014 mass killing in Isla Vista, CA, and spread globally as women and girls shared stories of everyday street harassment and misogyny and encouraged others to speak out. Formal organizations may also employ narrative memes as components of a broader strategy, such as the "Don't Bomb Syria" campaign by anti-war group Code Pink. As part of Code Pink's wider lobbying and grassroots organizing effort, the organization's supporters use the hashtag #DontBombSyria to share reasons for opposing U.S. military action both with their own social networks and government decision-makers.

By virtue of their shareability, memes are especially promising for how well they fit with connective action logics and hybrid organizing, and hence digital canvassing. They are highly conducive to personalization and reproduction, key aspects of connective action, and are most effective when used in concert with traditional off-line strategies (Canning & Reinsborough, 2008).

With their capacity for rapid proliferation, personalization, re-sharing, and networking by the audience, memes promise a more effective means of spreading brief narratives in canvassing videos. It is important to note, though, that some suggest that memes work better as a tool for activating the already-converted, rather than persuading the noncommitted or opposed (Canning & Reinsborough, 2008). Nonetheless, memes may be useful in activating members of an organization to take action as part of a specific campaign, or supporters of a cause to take action on behalf of a specific organization. For example, a meme campaign by the environmental group Greenpeace could use memes to elicit online petition signatures from both existing Greenpeace members and from a broader population of those already concerned with the environment. In such ways, memes can help connect digital actors via online networks, opening new opportunities for further action.

Finally, the results of this study suggest that to take advantage of the affordances of digital technologies, organizations must seek to maximize the factors that most strongly drive popularity in the digital realm. Digital tools such as music and high production quality seem most effective. Additionally, the emphasis on narrative as an important tool in digital organizing among industry actors (see Canning & Reinsborough, 2008) suggests that organizations should continue to use narrative; however, as public narrative is shown not to relate to popularity, likely due to its lack of adaptability online, organizations should instead

use narrative structures which are adaptable and easily shared via social networks, such as narrative memes.

E. Limitations and Direction for Future Research

This study found that public narrative is used to some extent by formal organizations in YouTube canvassing videos, but that public narrative may not be the best narrative structure for the digital context. In the future, other styles of narrative, such as brief, meme-based narratives, should also be explored, as well as the relationship between various narrative forms and popularity. Narrative is a powerful traditional organizing tactic and holds great promise for digital organizing as well; the trick is to discover what forms and styles of narrative are the most potent in differing contexts.

Variables relating to the viral elements of humor, characters, and production quality should also be explored further. First, findings here show that humor was not related to the use of narrative or popularity, yet emotions are known to be key in mass mobilization. Examination of a more comprehensive range of emotional cues appearing in the videos is needed. Second, more specific examination of the role of various types of characters is needed. How elites and ordinary people are cast (e.g. heroes or villains) may have an important impact on video popularity. Finally, a more detailed measure of production quality might prove fruitful, such as by operationalizing various sub-types of amateurism, as suggested by Shifman's (2011) "earnest" amateurism.

In this study, the outcome measure of popularity was operationalized as the number of views garnered by a video. A more comprehensive examination of *success* is in order. The specific goals and intended target audiences of producers must be understood, and each video evaluated on how well it serves its specific purpose. For example, if a video includes an

explicit call to action, the number of actions taken by viewers in relation to total views of a video would be a critical measure to understanding success beyond popularity.

Along with additional measures, a broader sampling frame would be useful to further develop the findings of this study. Videos representing more styles of organizing beyond canvassing would be useful. For example, YouTube is also used to promote traditional collective actions in the form of rallies, sit-ins, and more.

Lastly, a larger sample size would allow a more nuanced understanding of these findings.

In the future, studies should examine in greater detail the viral elements that contribute to video popularity, measure the effects of these elements and various narrative structures on audiences, and explore a broader range of traditional organizing tactics represented in digital media.

F. Conclusion

This study examined the use of the digital platform YouTube in relation to the traditional organizing strategy of canvassing. Variables analyzed included components of the traditional face-to-face canvassing structure known as public narrative, formal and entrepreneurial production style, and viral elements including music, humor, types of characters, and production quality.

Findings suggest that the variables unique to digital media, music and production quality, relate significantly to higher popularity, while variables adapted from traditional contexts including public narrative, humor, and ordinary people, do not relate to popularity. Furthermore, production style contributed significantly to higher popularity, with formally produced videos being far more popular than entrepreneurially produced videos.

It is likely that the success of the public narrative structure in face-to-face canvassing is due to the flexibility it affords to canvassers in approaching a wide variety of targets. This flexibility, however, does not translate to the digital realm, which may be why public narrative is only marginally associated with higher popularity. If this is the case, a more adaptable, less cumbersome narrative structure would offer great promise in digital organizing. One such possibility is memes, which are brief, socially-shared units of cultural content conveying messages that are adaptable to and by a wide array of audiences. Canning and Reinsborough (2008) argue that memes can be a powerful organizing tool. By virtue of their adaptability, memes also fit well with connective action logics and are likely to be an effective tactic in hybrid organizing strategies (Canning & Reinsborough, 2008). Further exploration of the use of memes in digital organizing is called for, as well as the other narrative structures explored here.

Digital media affords great opportunities to those who organize, including formal organizations reaching out to membership bases and publics as well as entrepreneurs organizing through social networks. However, the tactics that lead to success in traditional organizing may not translate to the digital realm. Incorporating unique digital tools, like embellishing messages with music and production quality, will benefit those who organize as they continue to develop digitally-based outreach strategies.

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